July 14–16, 2017 | Barcelona, Spain

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The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2017

Official Conference Proceedings

ISSN: 2432-4264

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The Construction of 'Singapore' in Singapore Cinema

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Abstract

Supported by interviews from my documentary on the same topic, this paper will explore how race and language are addressed in Singapore through the incorporation of 'Multiracialism', and how filmmakers negotiate these issues in their films in constructing the Singapore identity on screen. Singapore is a heterogeneous society with various ethnic groups. This cultural mix and the constant migration of people make the idea of a unified Singapore identity very challenging. Through promoting 'Multiracialism' and various language policies, the Government has tried to construct this unified identity, while maintaining the individual racial, linguistic and religious boundaries of each official racial group. This in itself is at odds with each other and is an ongoing challenge to the present day. The complexity of race and language issues in Singapore has created a cinema with fragmented cultural identity, one that is racially and linguistically divided. This is further complicated by censorship on both race and language. Filmmaking in Singapore is thus a constant negotiation of remaining culturally authentic to appeal to local audiences and censorship constraints that directly challenge this.

Keywords: Multiracialism, CMIO, Singapore Languages, Singapore Television and Cinema, Censorship

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Introduction

With its diasporic migrant history and reputation as a place of convergence, Singapore has always been a hub of diversity. The various ethnic groups and constant movement of people through immigration makes the idea of a unified Singapore identity very challenging. Singapore has a total population of 5.61 million, of which 3.41 million or a little over 60% are Singapore citizens. Of these, 74.3% are Chinese, 13.4% are Malays, 9.1% are Indians, and 3.2% are made up of Eurasians and other minorities (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2016). In addition, 40% of the population consists of foreigners, which is reflective of Singapore's diasporic history.

Singapore has always been an immigrant society. Since the 16th century, Singapore was a thriving centre of trade (Sejarah Melayu (Malay Annals), 1970), which grew with its 19th century colonial founding, attracting traders from the Malay archipelago, India and China (Tan, 2010, p. 161). When Singapore gained independence in 1965, suddenly a new nation-state was formed and the Singapore Government faced the challenge of bringing together a multiracial, multilingual and multireligious population with nothing to tie them together apart from the fact that they were largely descendants either of people who came to Singapore to make a better life for themselves (Peterson, 2001, p. 11).

Given this history and the present situation, how did the Singapore Government construct and reconstruct its national identity over time to keep up with the country's ever-changing cultural landscape? The Singapore Government differs from many other countries and from common sociological understandings in considering the different cultural groups within society to be racial groups rather than ethnic groups (Goh, 2008). Whereas an ethnic group self-identifies and is recognised by others as being a group on the basis of sharing a language, religious practices, a homeland or culture, the concept of race argues for the biological distinctiveness of cultural groups (Fozdar, Wilding & Hawkins, 2009). Resulting from the officially endorsed Singaporean view that cultural groupings are fixed and biologically determined races, the terms 'race' and 'multiracialism' tend to be used in place of the internationally more common terms 'ethnicity' and 'multiculturalism' (Chua, 1998; Hill & Lian, 1995). Multiracialism is the Government's solution to manage the disparateness of its people. Race is the basis for Singapore's identity construction, and is also at the forefront of the government agenda, and the Singaporean psyche, in terms of official policies that govern housing, education, employment, national service, the electoral system etc (Gomes, 2015, p. 61; Clammer, 1998).

Constructing a unified Singapore identity based on Multiracialism

In the 1970s, Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977, 1) defined Multiculturalism through three closely related features. First, multiculturalism is demographic fact: most countries are now culturally diverse. Second, multiculturalism is an ideology: individuals and communities have views on the acceptance or rejection of such diversity. Third, some governments implement public policies and programmes to encourage the promotion of diversity. While the three features of multiculturalism above apply to Singapore, the country's version of multiculturalism is less 'melting pot' and emphasises ethnic diversity. The 'melting pot' model incorporates colour-blind ideologies and policies which ignore or minimise group differences. Singapore's

multiculturalism is not colour-blind, but rather colour-conscious and to an extent that it is also problematic. Poet and Playwright Alfian bin Sa'at explains this by distinguishing between Multiculturalism and Multiracialism. For him, multiculturalism is more inclusive, because multiracialism is defined in Singapore in quite narrow terms, which is to create these particular categories of communities through the "Chinese-Malays-Indians-Others" (CMIO) framework. Whereas multiculturalism is a respect for cultural diversity, multiracialism in Singapore is framed as a hierarchy based on the numerical strength of each racial group. So instead of the 'melting pot' model, Singapore has a 'mosaic' model or a 'salad bowl' model, in which all the ingredients in the salad are there, but they are still discreet and distinct, and they do form this dish which is called a salad (Alfian bin Sa'at, interview, 7 January 2016).

With Singapore's model of multiculturalism, diversity is over-emphasised in race-baced policies which contradict the objective of multiculturalism. Thus, Singapore has a complex multicultural identity (Ang and Stratton, 1995) that both unifies as well as divides ethnic communities (Gomes, 2010). According to Chua (2003), Singapore has 'imagined multiculturalism' – Singapore's CMIO categories highlight difference rather than integration, diversity rather than hybridity.

Multiracialism and CMIO

CMIO

CMIO is a racial framework of Chinese-Malay-Indian-Others. This racial framework is used as the basis for many public policies and is a homogenising tool used to structure a heterogenous society. A legacy from colonial times, as an idealised "four races" model of society, CMIO assumes that racial identities are fixed, primordial and authentic – in essence, holding an essentialist position (Tan, 2008, p. 29).

Racial riots

Singapore's history is marked by the racial riots of the 1950s and 1960s which have also defined the Government's approach to nation-building and shaped the average Singaporean's view that a person's 'race' is a fundamental marker of identity. The riots took place before and around the time when Singapore became independent, and are part of the reason why Singapore separated from Malaysia, due to political differences and tensions between the Chinese and Malay.

Racial harmony

After the riots, the Government promoted a national identity based on multiracialism and racial harmony. These are officially celebrated annually through National Day and Racial Harmony Day. Maintaining racial harmony is then part of a top-down, hegemonic agenda rather than something that develops organically from the ground up. As Academic Kirpal Singh notes, "the idea of a multiracial, multi-religious, multi-lingual Singaporean society is seen to be a political dictum", which is "not always transferred to the level of day-to-day engagements" (Kirpal Singh, interview, 27 October 2015).

Singaporeans tend to not question the legitimacy of the country's multiculturalism having been indoctrinated by government rhetoric on "Singapore's perfect racial harmony". They are also unlikely to question such issues because the Government discourages public discussion on race, continuously citing the racial riots as a reason why such matters should be avoided. A recent Channel NewsAsia-Institute of Policy Studies Survey on Race Relations found that many Singaporeans regard talking about racial issues as highly sensitive, disconcerting and having the potential for tension (Mathews, 2016a, p. 11; Mathews, 2016b, p. 4). Actor Brendon Fernandez explains why race is a taboo topic in Singapore:

> Whenever we try to discuss race or ethnicity in media, in theatre, in any kind of public forum, we're told, "No. Don't discuss it. Discussing it might raise tensions, remember the riots in the 60s. Don't talk about race. We are a multiracial society." So I think those two statements logically don't follow, they don't work together – "Don't talk about race. We are a multiracial society" don't work together (Brendon Fernandez, interview, 16 December 2015).

The Impact of CMIO

Over time, CMIO has become deeply entrenched in ethnicity-related legislation, policies, institutions, national discourse, and national celebrations (Tan, 2008, p. 29). A major failing of the CMIO framework is that ethnicities are consolidated and essentialised, with language, religion and class being conflated and held to be permanent and passed down through the generations, powerfully shaping national and cultural identity (Vasu, 2012, p. 738; Tan, 2008, p. 29). The first problem with CMIO is the 'Others' category, which includes any minor ethnic group outside the predominantly CMI framework, such as Eurasians (the significant community within this grouping), Arabs, Armenians, Japanese and Europeans.

Second, the other CMI categories disregard ethnic differences within each category, so the most dominant ethnicity is used as the recognition shell for communal classification. As such, the Malayalees, Punjabis, Bengalis, Tamils, Sri Lankan Tamils and Sinhalese are all grouped as Indian. All people from Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh are also classified as Indian. The same approach is taken for the Chinese and Malay categories. Each category is then assigned the language that best represents the majority of the group. So for the Indian category, Tamil is the officially sanctioned language and Hinduism is classified as the official religion – regardless of the multiple languages and religions reflective of the South Asian diaspora (Gomes, 2015, p. 92). Similarly, for the Chinese, Chinese dialects were replaced with the promotion of Mandarin to create a sense of homogeneity amongst the Chinese. This has the effect of cultural erosion as language is an obvious signifier and transporter of culture. Transforming hybrid and constantly evolving ethnic identity (encompassing language and religion) into neat categories makes it easier for the Government to manage diversity in terms of administration and governance (Tan, 2008, p. 29–30). While CMIO makes for easier management of race, it does not allow for the existence of hybridity. In fact, CMIO has led to heightened racial consciousness and the hardening of racial divisions.

The third problem with CMIO is how it challenges the idea of an overarching Singapore national identity that the Government has constructed and continues to promote. Academic Hoon Chang Yau explains:

> On one hand, there's differences that Singapore is synonymous with like CMIO. On the other hand, Singapore also wants to build itself as one unified Singapore identity. So the tension between these two is something that's very real in Singapore. On one hand, you'll find that people want to identify themselves just as Singaporeans, but on the other hand, they are kept reminded over and over again in every bureaucratic form that they are different by race because they have to tick a box. In other words, they're not able to totally identify as just Singaporean fullstop (Hoon Chang Yau, interview, 20 October 2015).

In short, the Singapore identity is torn between its national and its cultural identity. Now, a hypenated identity prevails as Singaporeans see themselves as Singaporean-Chinese, Malay, Indian rather than just Singaporean.

Following CMIO, multiracialism is kept in check through various means, including the implementation of racial quotas and race-based self-help groups, amongst others. Intended to promote racial harmony, all this, instead, promotes racial hegemony. For example, the elite schools are Chinese. In the military, until recently, certain sensitive areas were restricted to certain races. Politically, Singapore is not ready for a non-Chinese Prime Minister. The plethora of multicultural policies has made us less multicultural. As suggested earlier by Alfian bin Sa'at – we are multiracial, but not multicultural. How can we be multicultural if melting pot practices and hybridity are discouraged?

Multiculturalism in the Media

Television

Singapore being a multiracial society which does not talk about race, it is unsurprising that the subject of race is silenced by the Out-of-Bounds (OB) marker on race and religion. An OB marker is used in Singapore to denote what topics are permissible for public discussion. The main OB areas are Race/Religion; Politics; and Alternative Lifestyles. Multiracialism is thus presented on screen as an accessory and not really in terms of content. Like multiracialism in the country, multiracialism in Singapore cinema is CMIO-based. Cinema takes its cue from television where there are dedicated channels allocated to the Chinese, Malay and Indian communities. Programmes on each of these channels are culturally and linguistically specific to a community and thus, are often limited to that community. On the surface, the vernacular channels seem necessary to promote the use of our official languages and protect linguistic rights in a multicultural society, but the consequence is the creation of monolingual environments, producing monoethnic and monocultural worlds (Alfian, 2016, n.p.).

Cinema

Like television, Singapore cinema is divided along racial lines. The majority of Singapore films are Chinese-dominated, featuring predominantly Chinese actors speaking in Mandarin, peppered with dialects, English and Singlish. Due to the languages used, these films appeal mainly to Chinese Singaporeans. There is little minority representation in these Chinese films. Singapore films either sidestep the complexities of ethnicities outside the Chinese-Malay-Indian nexus or portray them reductively or stereotypically. Through unproblematic and humourous portrayals of ethnic minorities, a mirage of racial harmony is created, providing an insight into how multiculturalism in Singapore can only cope within specific ethnic parameters (Gomes, 2015, p. 82). The ethnic minorities thus continue to struggle to find a place in Singapore cinema.

This is apparent in the fact that Malay and Tamil feature film production in Singapore is almost non-existent. Singapore cinema has been Chinese-dominated since independence, with only two Tamil films (Eric Khoo's *My Magic* and T.T Thavamani's *Gurushetram – 24 Hours of Anger*) and two Malay feature films produced in the last 50 years (Sanif Olek's *Sayang Disayang* and M. Raihan Halim's *Banting*). In fact, these films were all produced only in the last decade. However, these works, being targeted at their respective communities and not really featuring other races in prominent roles, generally do not appeal beyond their immediate ethnic communities.

Singapore's multiracialism is adapted in CMIO terms on screen and the 'authentic multiculturalism' that exists on the ground is not carried over to television and cinema. Instead of reflecting stories of true embedded multiculturalism, evident in hybrid or melting pot practices, television and state-supported films adopt a prescribed state-endorsed notion of multiculturalism which seems forced and therefore inauthentic. Other than this, the other approach is to avoid multicultural representation altogether, which many films have done. This is for both cultural and economic reasons – the basic idea that marketing films that feature a mix of ethnic groups or mixed languages is extremely challenging given the cultural homogeneity of film markets. Singapore cinema thus cannot simply be just that. Singapore cinema is really a hyphenated cinema – Singapore Chinese/Malay/Indian cinema.

Language in Singapore

In the construction of Singapore identity, race and language are intrinsically intertwined. The language problems faced in Singapore carry over to its cinema.

Language Policies

Singapore's language policy assumes that there is a tight, almost unbreakable link between language and ethnic identity. Thus, the state feels comfortable in assigning official mother tongues to individuals on the basis of their ethnic identities (Wee, 2014, p. 652). Bilingualism was implemented in 1960 with English being taught to prepare Singaporeans for the global economy and the second language used to retain cultural roots. With the priority on nation-building and Singapore's global economic competitiveness, the Government promoted English-language education during the

1970s. After about a decade however, the Government feared that Singapore was "becoming deculturalised" and too Westernised. So in 1979, the 'Speak Mandarin' campaign was launched to reconnect Chinese Singaporeans to their Chinese roots.

Under Singapore's bilingual policy, four languages are defined as its official languages, namely, English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil where English is the first language and the others (referred to as mother tongues) are the second language, depending on a person's ethnicity. Mandarin is the official mother tongue assigned to the Chinese community, Malay to the Malay community, and Tamil to the Indian community. There is no official mother tongue for the 'Others' category, given its heterogeneous nature (Wee, 2011, p. 205).

In terms of the language policies, the effect of enforcing English, then switching to Mandarin within a decade, has no doubt confused the generations and left most Singaporean Chinese far from being completely bilingual, struggling with both languages and excelling in neither (Peterson, 2001, p. 58). The 'Speak Mandarin' campaign also heightened racial consciousness, promoting the language of the majority race and alienating the minorities.

I will now focus on English and Mandarin and their related languages as these are the languages in contention with censorship.

English

English is the unifying language in Singapore, but it is a foreign tongue. It replaced Malay which was our unifying language prior to independence. The decision to make English the first language is economically motivated as discussed earlier. However, it is also politically motivated – English is a 'neutral' language that would be common to all races and being neutral, it is a fair linguistic choice across the different races. The simultaneous acceptance and rejection of English is one of the many problems with language in Singapore. On one hand, English is the country's lingua franca facilitating inter-ethnic interaction, but on the other hand, it is not recognised as a mother tongue, which then lowers its standing against the other official languages of Singapore.

Singlish

English in Singapore has also evolved as Singlish, which consists of a "largely English-based vocabulary peppered with Malay and dialect, but with syntax closer to Chinese or Malay than English" (Peterson, 2001, p. 58). Singlish has become the unofficial symbol of Singapore's multicultural national identity, fostering an unofficial nationalist spirit and creating a sense of unity amongst disparate Singaporeans across ethnic cultures (Gomes, 2015, p. 41, 150). Singlish is disapproved of and discouraged by the state as the Government believes it will adversely affect the ability of Singaporeans to learn 'good' English and jeopardise their ability to compete effectively in the global economy (Rubdy, 2001; Chng, 2003). Singlish is thus banned in official communiqué and in classrooms, and discouraged in media. Singlish is undoubtedly one of the few authentic markers of Singaporean identity and culture, but it continues to struggle in being accepted as such by the state.

Mandarin and Dialects

With the 'Speak Mandarin' campaign, the Government hoped to unify the Chinese in Singapore who were speaking different Chinese dialects, and to connect them to the Motherland of China for cultural and economic reasons. The campaign sought to eliminate the use of dialects as they were deemed a threat to Mandarin. Dialects were eradicated from TV and to a lesser degree, cinema. However in fact, English and Singlish pose much bigger threats, being more commonly spoken on the ground. Lee and André conclude that Singapore's case with the 'Speak Mandarin' campaign presents contrary evidence to the hypothesis that language transmits culture (2015, p. 15). I would argue that language transmits culture if the language is perceived as indigenous. Mandarin was never native for Singapore. The same can be said for English. This explains why Singapore has neither fully accepted English nor Chinese culture and is in fact straddling both. Had dialects not been wiped out, authentic heritage and cultures of the individual Chinese ethnicities would still exist today, which would strengthen the sense of Chineseness the Government sought after when they implemented the 'Speak Mandarin' campaign. Like Singlish, another important cultural marker of Singapore identity, particularly the Singapore Chinese identity, is denied.

Language in Singapore Cinema and Censorship

Dialects

Language in Singapore cinema is problematic because of the various ethnicities and the use of the CMIO approach restricting films to an ethnic group based on the language of the film. This is further complicated by language censorship, specifically on Singlish and Chinese dialects, both of which are considered authentically Singaporean. Both are discouraged on film and disallowed on television. Singlish and Chinese dialects lay dormant from the 1960s until the mid-1990s, so local audiences were exuberant with their resurgence in revival cinema (Chan, 2008, p. 100). Also, the very presence of disowned languages in Singapore films serves as a terse reminder about the state's failure in language policing (Tan, Lee & Aw, 2003, p. 19).

Despite being Mandarin-dominated, Singapore cinema today often includes the state-permitted amount of dominant dialects (Gomes, 2015, p. 42). However, it is ambiguous what the state-permitted amount is. In the Board of Film Censors Classification Guidelines, it is stated:

> Films with dialect content are allowed on a case-by-case basis. Chinese films meant for theatrical release should generally be in Mandarin, in line with the Speak Mandarin Campaign (Infocomm Media Development Authority, 2011).

As gathered by the many filmmakers I interviewed, the dialect quota is understood to be in the range of 30% to 50%. The quota is not stated explicitly anywhere.

How do filmmakers feel about such censorship? According to Singapore Film Society's Vice Chairman David Lee:

> The marker on dialects affects [all] Chinese-language films [in Singapore]. This is a big issue even for a filmmaker like Jack Neo [Singapore's most popular and successful filmmaker] because audiences love his movies because they can hear authentic dialects being spoken. He has to defend his integrity as a filmmaker, to be able to make the work he wants to make. Why does he have to correct a line because the quota has been exceeded? It's ridiculous. Nowhere in the world has there been a restriction not just on language, but on your own language. We're not trying to challenge history or the current political status quo. We're not trying to start a revolution. We just want to have the right to include what we believe is part of our identity and that is still being spoken today (David Lee, interview, 5 January 2016).

A significant first for Singapore is *667*, a recent anthology of shorts entirely in dialects, produced by acclaimed Singapore director, Royston Tan. The anthology features five shorts about the search for one's cultural roots and how one makes Singapore home. Helmed by five up-and-coming directors, each individual segment is told in a different Chinese dialect – Cantonese, Teochew, Hokkien, Hainanese and Hakka (Yip, 2017). While this may seem like a relaxation of the rules, the film has a hegemonic agenda. It was commissioned by the Singapore Chinese Cultural Centre (SCCC), and produced for the centre's inaugural Singapore Chinese cultural festival (Yip, 2017). While an exception on dialect allowance was made for this film, there has been no announcement from the Media Authority on any change in rules pertaining to the use of dialects in films.

Singlish

Despite the Government's promotion of English throughout Singapore's history, the preference of Singlish on the ground has led to most Singapore films using Singlish over English. The use of Singlish in films allows for the linguistic diversity that underlies a collective Singaporean cultural identity, rather than a Chinese, Malay, or Indian one (Chan, 2008, p. 100). As Siddique (2002) notes, "it is Singlish, rather than Standard English, that functions as a cultural broker language that mediates between the different races" (p. 165 – 166).

Against censorship, Singlish also serves as a form of resistance – a powerful yet non-confrontational devise employed by the masses in an unconscious collective expression of civil disobedience against an autocratic government (Gomes, 2015, p. 151, 172). For Singapore filmmakers, using Singlish in their works is a constant tug-of-war between pushing censorship boundaries and not alienating local and international audiences with too little or too much Singlish. The case of *Talking Cock – The Movie* (2002) is a stark reminder of how a film can be 'punished' for overusing Singlish. The film was initially rated R(A) [Restricted (Artistic)]. Movies under this category are not considered suitable for those under age 21 as they depict sex and violence in an explicit or exploitative manner. Later upon appeal, the film was rated NC16 [No Children Under 16], which was still disproportionately high for a film with no sex scenes, violence or any other unsuitable content (Tan & Fernando, 2007, p. 137).

Filmmakers negotiate around censorship by either using less Singlish, less crude forms of Singlish or balancing it with proper English. Filmmakers are also deeply aware of how crucial and difficult it is to get the pitch of Singlish just right on film, failing which the films appear inauthentic and lose local audiences.

As a patois, Singlish can also be unintelligible to and alienate foreign audiences. So filmmakers, trying to be both authentic and economical, compromise by keeping some degree of Singlish, but neutralising it as much as possible for international appeal (Lui, 2014). Both a source of cultural pride and embarrassment, there appears to be no consistency in what the right amount of Singlish is – whether it works with the audience depends largely on treatment and reception (Chan, 2008, p. 102). As explained by Artist and Director Sherman Ong:

> We are still not comfortable with the depiction of Singlish in the cinematic landscape, but that's what makes Singapore *Singapore*. There's always this tendency to speak Singlish off camera, and then on camera, you speak proper English. So there's this disjuncture, this separation, and so it's not authentic, because the language register used is not real. It's not what the ground is speaking. Some people do speak Queen's English, but the majority speaks a kind of pigeon English, which is what's authentic. We need to embrace that and embrace the fact that eventually, the Singapore film will need English subtitles even though the characters are speaking English – then that will be authentic and interesting (Sherman Ong, interview, 20 December 2015).

Conclusion

The issue of language censorship brings into question the issue of authenticity in Singapore films. How truthful can Singapore films be if they are constantly under the scrutiny of censorship? Director Chai Yee Wei explains:

> Singlish not being allowed on screen is almost like telling us that if you want to portray real Singaporeans on screen, you're not allowed to. I feel that this is extremely dangerous because we lose the opportunity to portray what is the truth on screen and that is afterall what art is all about…it's a pursuit of truth. If you can't tell the truth when it comes to developing art works, then art itself has lost its meaning (Chai Yee Wei, interview, 21 October 2015).

Similarly for dialects, Actor and Director Alaric Tay questions:

> How can we tell an authentically Singaporean story without using dialect when the character speaks dialect? Do we want him to speak English or Chinese simply because those are the policies in place for Singapore feature films or do we want to tell authentic Singaporean stories? (Alaric Tay, interview, 19 October 2015).

Furthermore, while the use of multiple languages seems to reflect Singapore's multicultural character, in effect, the emphasis on Chinese languages shows Singapore's racial hegemony. More significantly, there is a desire to feature Chinese languages that have been outlawed instead of featuring minority languages that are

today's national languages, speaking to the continued marginalisation of the Malay and Indian communities.

For the filmmakers I interviewed, the language problem is compounded because neither English nor Mandarin is our true mother tongue. Both are inherited languages made official by language policies. According to my interviewees:

> We speak English but we don't speak the best English. We speak Singlish which foreigners find hard to understand. So if you put that on film, it may turn off people. We speak Mandarin, but we don't speak the best Mandarin. The best Mandarin speakers are in China and Taiwan. Again, we will lose out…(Director Martyn See, interview, 29 October 2015).

> Even the Chinese in our films is in proper Mandarin, but we don't speak in proper Mandarin…The average Singaporean relies on Mandarin with English words. That is why it actually feels less authentic when films are in good, proper Mandarin because we never had that. Authenticity lies in the language register of the films (Artist/Director Sherman Ong, interview, 20 December 2015).

In terms of Singapore identity in Singapore cinema, how can Singapore films address the 'national', when most of the aspects of national identity (constituting of gender, ethnicity, religion, language, social class, sexuality, politics and economics) are OB areas? The OB marker on race prevents films from addressing multiracialism, race issues, racial hegemony and minority race problems, which takes away any real expression of national and cultural identity. The OB marker on language further widens films' detachment from a cultural identity.

Notwithstanding authenticity as a problematic term, it refers to a set of qualities that people in a particular time and place have come to agree represent an ideal, which is subject to change as culture changes (Vannini and Williams, 2009). For Singapore identity, what has been accepted as authentic is its multicultural society, the hybridisation of languages in the form of Singlish, and its functioning as a highly controlled nation, run by a soft authoritarian Government, which works very hard to showcase the positive aspects of the country and hide the negative ones. Films that work within the OB markers will not reflect any of this honestly or accurately, and films that go beyond the OB markers in providing a more truthful representation will most likely get banned and not be seen by Singaporeans. Either way, portraying an authentic Singapore is problematic. Despite being the most authentic and unifying languages in Singapore, Singlish and dialects struggle to find a place in Singapore cinema. Where OB boundaries are not clearly defined, the pursuit of authentic linguistic representation is not easily achieved. Such is the climate and environment in which Singapore filmmakers have to work, where for a country that appears black and white, there are many grey areas.

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Mātauranga Māori and Therapeutic Landscapes

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Abstract

The indigenous Māori of New Zealand contend that the relationship they have with the land, shapes the ways in which the cultural, spiritual, emotional, physical and social wellbeing of people and communities are expressed. While research has explored the concepts of Māori health, few studies have explored the influence of the cultural beliefs and values on health and in particular, the intricate link between land and health. Traditional Māori knowledge regards landscape as part of a circle of life, establishing a holistic perspective with respect to the relationship to health and wellbeing. With increasing urbanisation, modern technologies and the ageing of the elders in an oral culture, traditional practices are becoming lost. This paper focuses on the Mātauranga Māori process of investigating a specific landscape relying on the past, present and future to better understand the importance and value of the therapeutic qualities imparted through different constructs pertaining Māori models of health and wellbeing. This study broadens the understanding of therapeutic landscapes through the exploration of specific dimensions in the context of everyday life. It also contributes to the expanding body of research focusing on the role of therapeutic landscapes and the importance of place to maintain physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health.

Keywords: indigenous knowledge, Mātauranga Māori, culture, therapeutic landscapes, health, wellbeing, landscape architecture

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Introduction

Titiro whakamuri hei ārahi i ngā uaratanga kei te kimihia.

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao

Ko tō ringaringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā, hei oranga mō tō tinana.

Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna, hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga.

Ko tō wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Look to the past for guidance and seek out what is needed.

Grow and branch forth the days of the world.

Turn your hand to the tools of the Pakeha, for the wellbeing of your body.

Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors, as a crown for your head.

Turn your spirit to your God, from all things come.

Increased globalisation has contributed to a rapid increase in the impact of human activity. To date, the best endeavours of conservation of natural resources and values have failed. Increasing extinction rates, pressures on biodiversity and climate change are just some examples (Mace, 2014). As the costs of environmental mismanagement continue to accumulate, awareness of the consequences of habitat destruction, invasive species and loss of quality of life become overwhelmingly evident (Mace, 2014; Ruddick, 2015). The realisation that nature provides crucial goods and services that are irreplaceable has been consistently ignored by Western civilisation.

In New Zealand, where biculturalism has emerged as a viable organising national ideology, the role of landscape is highly contested. The indigenous Māori of New Zealand contend that the relationship they have with the land, shapes the ways in which the cultural, spiritual, emotional, physical and social wellbeing of people and communities are expressed. The combination of a dominant culture of New Zealanders of European descent with a highly urbanised society has resulted in the deterioration of the environment and with it a loss of the minority Māori cultural values with respect to landscape (Durie, 2004). However, in recent times there has been a growing demand towards culture and place-specific contexts affecting the health and wellbeing of populations in different environments (Panelli & Tipa, 2007).

While current ecological, social and health models still follow a westernised approach, many other cultures such as the Māori culture, embrace a more holistic approach to resource management, health and illness of our natural and built environments. This holistic approach tends to focus on the interconnectedness with landscape through the means of mind, body and spirit; which is strongly evident in indigenous cultures around the world (Mark & Lyons, 2010). The longstanding connection with land through forests, wetlands, rivers, coastal areas and mountains provides the indigenous cultures a sense of identity, belonging and wellbeing. This is cultivated by all individuals engaging in keeping the human-nature relationship in balance as part of their daily life and wellness (Prechtel, 1999), experiencing the natural environment as home (Cohn, 2011) and forming their knowledge and world-views.

This paper focuses on the Mātauranga Māori process (Māori knowledge) of investigating the natural environment relying on the past, present and future to better understand the importance of landscape and the therapeutic values imparted through different constructs pertaining Māori models of health and wellbeing. The study also

contributes to the expanding role of therapeutic landscapes in shaping physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health.

Māori traditional knowledge and health

There has been accumulated multidisciplinary research interest in the therapeutic effects of nature since 1970s, including medical geography (Gesler, 2003), environmental psychology (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Kaplan, 1992; Ulrich, 1984; and Ulrich, 1999), ecological psychology (Wang & Li, 2012; Moore & Cosco, 2010), and horticultural therapy (Detweiler et al., 2012). In the West, research from the mid-1980s has indicated that gardens, parks and landscape areas have beneficial effects on human health and wellbeing (Wilson, 1984; Ulrich et al., 1991; Annerstedt & Waehrborg, 2011). More recently, the term "healing garden" has been widely recognised, referring to green outdoor spaces in healthcare facilities that provide a chance of stress relief for patients, staff and families (Gharipour & Zimring, 2005; Lau & Yang, 2009; Szczygiel & Hewitt, 2000). Similarly, in the East a focus on sustainability and recent movement from pharmaceutical remedies to more natural and environmental medicine is an emerging trend, leading into the possibilities of the recuperative rehabilitative processes inherent in a landscape (Zhang, et al., 2009). Finally, in indigenous cultures the values associated to nature have been acknowledged as a powerful healing source and as a resource for rehabilitation (Marcus & Barnes, 1999; Henry & Pene, 2001; Jakobsson, 2009).

Traditional knowledge, values and concepts still shape the thinking of most of the contemporary Māori, forming the basis for indigenous perspectives and holism. The Māori world-view acknowledges a natural order and an intricate balance with the universe (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). If a part of the whole shifts, the entire whole is out of balance. Therefore, Māori believe that the starting point for wellbeing is a strong sense of interconnectedness with the landscape. This connection is celebrated in traditions such as songs, narratives, customs as well as approaches to birthing, healing and death, which are passed down to the next generations (Durie, 2004). Human identity becomes an extension of the surrounding environment and there is an inseparable link between people and the natural world. It is from the landscape that Māori culture obtains their physical, spiritual and mental wellbeing as part of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) (Mark & Lyons, 2010).

Mātauranga Māori is defined in the traditional context as all things that are linked as one, where knowledge, comprehension or understanding of everything visible and invisible exists across the universe (Marsden 1988), systematically including the ways of knowing and doing. It is the intricacies of holistic and interconnected relationships to the natural world. Mātauranga Māori can also be defined simply as 'wisdom' which descends from the predecessors through *whakapapa* (lineage) (Goodall, 2016). *Whakapapa* refers to the transmission of knowledge through generations, not just of history and those things human but also the creation and evolution of all living creatures and non-living elements (Karetu, 1992). 'Papa' is the concept of something flat (like the ground), where 'whaka' is the overlaying of layers upon another, thus building layers of spiritual, mythological and human stories of both the seen and unseen. Existence transcends through intergenerational heritage and identity, which all link back to the landscape from which life is formed by *Papatuanuku* (Earth-Mother) and *Ranginui* (Sky-Father) back to the Supreme Being Io (Garlick et al,

2010). Landscape, culture and health are thereby complexly linked (Wilson, 2003) and the significance of human-landscape specificity is clear where particular relations-with and understandings-of the wider environment affect people's life and their wellbeing (Panelli & Tipa, 2007). For Māori, illness begins in the *mauri* (life force) that surrounds the body and is ultimately expressed in the physical body (Henry & Pene, 2001; Panelli & Tipa, 2007).

Mātauranga Māori forms the central pillar of the Māori worldview encompassing all aspects of beliefs, values, language, methods, technologies and practices, which over thousands of years have been handed down by the intergenerational oral culture. Relevant understanding of traditional knowledge and beliefs continue to shape the ways Māori think and inhabit the world. Māori worldview acknowledges the need for balance or equilibrium in the order of the universe. For Māori and indigenous cultures alike, a shift in the way they think and view the world has dramatically and detrimentally shaped their health and wellbeing. Completely reliant on the landscape as a source of flora and fauna for health and wellbeing, the Māori people nurtured and cared for the landscape, living and settling in abundant ecologies. The landscape is the provider of life where humans obtain tools and basic materials; health and social relations to achieve the interdependency between human and ecosystems comprised by *manaaki whenua* (caring for the land) and *manaaki tangata* (caring for the people) (Harmsworth 2013).

In the last twenty years, there has been a powerful resurgence of Māori identity in New Zealand and with it a revival of cultural forms which had been in the verge of becoming extinct (Kolig, 2000). Post-colonial feelings of guilt and anti-colonialism sentiments have engendered intercultural equality and respect (Gellner, 1992). These combined with "fashionable New Age values such as a new admiration for traditional, or 'tribal', knowledge, and respect for 'tribal', or traditional values which are romantically admired now as healthier, sounder, environmental friendlier and truer to human nature than modern Western culture" (Kolig, 2000, p.246) have created an ideal climate for a bicultural re-connection with landscape without loss of identity.

Methodology of Mātauranga Māori

Traditionally knowledge was obtained only by a few such as *tohunga* (experts) and *ariki* (chiefs) between the physical and spiritual realms of heaven and earth, where the methods subdued remained sacred and required protection (Mead, 2003). Mātauranga Māori has developed through the ancestral bonds linking people and environment (Harmsworth, 2013) based on values and connectedness (Perrot, 2016). For Māori, knowledge of the natural world such as earth, seas and skies provided their great success as sea voyagers, establishing and adapting to new climates and environments in the Pacific (Garlick et al, 2010). Knowledge was traditionally guarded by elders and comprised a mixture of cosmogony, cosmology, mythology, religion and anthropology (Marsden, 1988). Unlike science-based systems, Mātauranga Māori depicts ecosystems not as mechanical quantitative machines, but rather infused with spirit and life-force (*mauri*) (Perrot, 2016). Mātauranga is now making a transgressive shift into the 21st century growing from the contemporary past (cultural, historical, local and regional Māori knowledge) into a much broader appreciation. It can be viewed as a dynamic way of thinking about the evolving knowledge that is represented in the natural and cultural heritage.

The core values that underlie traditional knowledge can be summarised in seven principles (Smith, 1999), connecting the understanding of Māori wellbeing models with structure.

1. Respect for people: historical accounts validate the core values of integrity between man and nature.
2. Face-to-face: explores sharing traditional knowledge and practices passed down through the generations.
3. Look, listen, speak: challenges preconceived ideas; elaborating, reiterating and opening up to the natural order of the living world for the progression of future connections.
4. Share and care for people: following the Māori constructs of *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) and *manaakitanga* (hospitality) to ensure land and people are treated for the betterment of human wellbeing.
5. Be generous and cautious: accepting the differences between cultures and environments, balancing this with inter-relationships to guide and support the ambitions of environmental and human measures.
6. Do not trample over: the *mana*/authority of people reminds that the spiritual connection links all together and hence stepping on someone's *mana* will affect self-mana.
7. Do not flaunt knowledge: it is a treasure which belongs to individuals who further knowledge growth.

These concepts that underpin Māori methodologies, provide a platform which can inform the design methodology for therapeutic landscapes as places that foster healing of the physical, mental and spiritual by reflecting the cultural and layered socio-environmental identity of the past, present and future (Williams, 1999; Wilson, 2003; Conradson, 2005; Mark & Lyons, 2010, Hatton et al, 2017).

Therapeutic landscapes: interconnectedness of traditional knowledge

The Western understanding of land and landscapes is based on a positivistic, scientific and utilitarian approach between people and land (Peet, 2000). Knowledge is seen as rational and goal oriented and the world is understood as a single layered construct of universal principles, where humans are superior to other living creatures, pursuing material assets (Jang, 2004). Similarly, restoration of natural systems has been driven by periodic fashions and has shifted significantly over the last decades. Prior to 1960s, restoration was mainly understood as 'nature for itself', prioritising natural habits and wilderness areas without people following traditional concepts related to ecology and natural history. With the rapid development of society and urban sprawl and with the depletion of natural resources and ecosystems, attention was given to conservation of protected areas and protection of species as well as the emergence of 'nature despite people', trying to reverse back the actions that devastated most of our ecosystems (Mace, 2014). By the late 1990s, a new understanding appeared accepting the benefits that nature and ecosystems can provide to the society, corroborated by the fact that former practices had failed in reducing habitat and biodiversity losses (Mace, 2014). These shifts allow movement from a utilitarian perspective to something that is more holistic and recognises the relationships between people and nature. This new thinking of 'people and nature' takes into account the importance of cultural values in the development of sustainable and resilient interactions between human societies and

the surrounding environment (Mace, 2014). It also opens the door for an exploration of what it means to develop landscape in a bi-cultural context and the potential for multi-faceted understanding of man and nature as a union (Menzies et al, 2016).

When considering therapeutic landscapes, Māori look to the natural ecological environments (forests, waterways and wetlands) as a medium for physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health and wellbeing. Māori strategies involve an inclusive "whole of landscape" approach known as *"ki uta ki tai"* (from the mountains to the sea). It is a philosophy that reflects on a system of environmental and resource management which celebrates guardianship and reflects the relationship of environmental heritage. As such, it encapsulates the needs to recognise and manage the interconnectedness of the whole environment celebrating culture and identity. Considering the intertwined relationship of man and environment, the idea of a therapeutic landscape is expanded to consider issues of history, culture, memory and identity in light of their symbolic and applied roles in holistic health and wellbeing. Through the reviewing of traditional cultural and therapeutic landscapes, adaptation of cognitive behaviour of therapy for Māori can be applicable for indigenous cultures through multi-systematic therapy, family therapy, motivational interviewing and narrative therapy (Te Pou, 2010). These all connect to the oral traditions laid down over generations.

The landscape provides to Māori a context upon which to ground and reiterate the interconnection between human being, environment and wellbeing. As living with nature implies the guardianship of both land and people, places are seen as sacred (Menzies et al, 2016). As a consequence, Māori health and wellbeing is dependent on the surrounding environment where *wairua* (spirituality from which *mauri* is constituted) is obtained by the interconnected relationship of human experience, emotions, family and the surrounding environment. Destruction of natural ecosystems from a Māori perspective affects a person's health and wellbeing, and leads to the loss of cultural identity which in turn leads to the decline of a person's wellbeing. For many Māori the desecration of land has contributed to the decline of their mental, spiritual and physical wellbeing. As a result, indigenous therapists use the environment as a means to modify, occupy, control and enable the capability of people (Hopkirk & Wilson 2014).

Creating places where people can connect with landscape is crucial for the development of health and wellbeing, for both Māori and non-Māori. The therapeutic measures of Māori are based on the wellbeing of a person's environment be it their *kāinga* (home) or *whenua* (land). While this is a core component of Māori identity, it is a spiritual component of many non-Māori. Focusing on therapeutic needs and values can combat and shape the way people and nature work and live together, similar to traditional ways. For Māori, the traditions of *tikanga* (protocols) are important as they are the customary ways in doing and acting. From this understanding practices evolved that established a tangible connection to the land, and allowed people to reflect on their own identity and belonging in the world. For example, many Māori still practice ancient birthing rituals such as *tohi* which is similar to a baptism. This involves sprinkling water from a sacred stream onto a new-born child and dedicating the child to an *atua* (god). This is followed by the burial of the placenta in the ancestral lands of the tribe, often at the base of a marker tree,

thereby linking the child to the tribal lands. Embracing these traditional values, re-instates *mana* (prestige/power) and *whenua* (land) of people and places.

Māori models for therapeutic landscapes offer new ways in which we can develop and promote people's health and wellbeing. Influenced by the traditional practices of Māori (*Mātauranga*) and frameworks for traditional and cultural landscapes that are rich for restoration and preservation of identity through *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship), *manaakitanga* (hospitality), *whanaungatanga* (kinship), *wairuatanga* (spirituality), *kotahitanga* (unity) can be incorporated in design of landscape. The core concepts of Māori healing techniques embrace spiritual healing and the use of traditional practices to support the four pillars of Māori health values: *taha hinengaro* (psychological health), *taha tinana* (physical health), *taha wairua* (spiritual health) and *taha whanau* (family health). Landscapes can aid in the re-establishment of these life incentivizing traditions and intergenerational collaboration.

Discussion

Through understanding Māori therapeutic landscapes key concepts can be integrated into, and produce, meaningful and reflective landscapes. For non-Māori, the integration of therapy into the landscape is evident in sensory gardens, healing gardens and food gardens. However for Māori, the ideals inherent in these therapeutic landscapes are not separate entities, but part of a wider holistic system that caters for people's senses, emotions and values. For this reason, practice is inherently linked with the landscape. For example, Māori therapy seeks resources from the landscape in preparation for *haumiri* (therapeutic massage), *rongoā* (herbal remedies) and *honohono* (spiritual massage). These three important performative techniques form the foundation of the Māori therapeutic landscape.

The concept of *haumiri* aims to balance the physical and mental energies (*mauri* and *wairua*) of a person's persona with the natural world. It can be induced through two forms of massage: *mirimiri* and *romiromi*. The knowledge of *haumiri* seeks to give the body freedom and increase the flow of energies to invigorate and protect (Mark & Lyons, 2010). Benefits of *haumiri* are relevant to the decline in Māori health and wellbeing where nature, people and place are enclosed as one allowing mind, body and soul to strengthen the immune system. This increases energy, releases toxins, helps with addictions (drugs and alcohol), increases circulation, stimulates the internal body, speeds the healing process and balances *mauri* and *wairua* (Mark & Lyons, 2010). Inspiration by the natural elements of water and earth are also evident in *haumiri*, where water represents the purity and cleansing of life and earth represented by heated rocks/stones in treatment. *Mirimiri* is described as the massage of soft-tissues providing therapeutic treatment for malfunctioning body systems (Mark & Lyons, 2010). *Romiromi* involves deep-tissue massage in the application of pressure, aiding the body to release and remove toxic build-up and waste which helps relief tensions, stress and pain (O'Connor, 2007). As such, *romiromi* is way of obtaining greater mobility, vitality and presence. *Haumiri* provides an active spiritual and physical process where the Mātauranga combines the experience of the natural environment with performative actions to achieve physical, spiritual and mental wellbeing.

Rongoā as a form of Māori healing that uses medicinal properties of plants, is involved often as a way to connect to the elements. *Rongoā* it is not just about the manufacture of medicine, it is about the respect of the relationship between nature and man (McGowan, 2015). Drawing upon natural plants from the forest, waterways (wetlands and lakes), coastlines and oceans; Māori developed processes and created medicines to help a person's wellbeing whether it be damaged or ill. The bark, leaves, roots, berries and branches were carefully harvested removing only what was needed, and ensuring that nature could continue to accommodate harvesting in the future. If anything was left it would return back to the earth to begin a new cycle of life. In this way sustainability is a core component of traditional ways of thinking. The properties of *rongoā* healing extend beyond the physical and chemical properties to the connection of *mauri* of person, plant and healer which are destined to be immersed together (Jones, 2000). Therapeutic landscapes therefore encompass a deeper meaning in reverence to *rongoā* as the encapsulation of ones being with nature and the transgression of healing one another.

Honohono establishes and uses the aura of people and environment for healing, representing the healing of a person's inner spirit and connecting them to the universe. It reflects on the change in a person's persona and environment, clearing and assisting in the transition of a person's mind, body and soul with placement in the world (notion of place) (Te Pou, 2010). *Honohono* or spiritual healing may incorporate the use of the elements, earth, water, air and fire to offer the body release and healing through spiritual visualization and non-physical immersion. Therapeutic landscape therefore transforms into a cosmological realm reconnecting people and landscape while acquiring the necessities to comply in the physical world. It has been compared with traditional Japanese and Chinese healing methods such as Reiki and Chi Kung (Qi Kong), which use vibrational energy techniques to balance the bodies' energy system. *Honohono* aims to balance the *mauri* and *wairua* where inner-self becomes important in revealing the sense of place and belonging (TuiOra, 2017).

Therapeutic landscapes benefit the health and wellbeing of people. Māori contend that landscape is therapeutic, cultural and ancestral representing the works between man and nature, and containing the values of indigenous knowledge. Māori strategies for health and wellbeing transverse well beyond the caring of the landscape and its conservation, to relating them to peoples' inner self and being (the *mauri* or life force of the world). For Māori, healing is an active process conceived from the landscape though such practices of *haumiri*, *rongoā* and *honohono*, stimulating the body to heal itself and valuing the landscape as a key factor for its fulfilment. Although there are several Māori models of health and wellbeing, three have been particularly influential in the previous decades: *Te Whare Tapa Wha* (four-sided house), *Te Wheke* (the octopus) and *Te Pae Mahutonga* (Southern Cross constellation). These models related to the four pillars of physical, mental, spiritual and social (*whanaungatanga*) wellbeing.

Future Directions: Māori Health and Wellbeing Models

The rapid progression and development of social and cultural change today, lacks an ideology around people and place. 'The term '*taonga tuku ih*o' articulates the desire of intergenerational equity with nature's resources passing from one generation to the next (Harmsworth, 2013). The idea is that the transfer of knowledge and nature

should be passed on in a better or the same state in which it was left. Containment of identity is obtained through the spiritual and tangible dimensions of life. Māori's intuitive nature harnesses holistic views where 'using nature' and 'nurturing nature' is central to therapeutic landscapes. For Māori, the ideals inherent in therapeutic landscapes are not separate entities. Exploration of solutions can be found in cultural and therapeutic landscapes, which should be seen as a part of modern ways of living (Gesler, 1992). By incorporating beliefs of stewardship and kinship with the land, both people and place can better identify in unison, offering new insights into living with nature in urban and rural cities.

Mātauranga Māori offers a broad and deep collaboration of traditional methods, practices and values. Incorporating Mātauranga by learning of traditional ways of thinking about self and place endeavours to reconnect people from urban centres to the landscape. This may be achievable using three models: *Te Whare Tapa Wha*, *Te Wheke* and *Te Pae Mahutonga*. These concepts traditionally express the inner emotions of indigenous culture and proffer a way which can inform the makeup of therapeutic landscapes that reflect the cultural and layered identity of past, present and future adaptations.

Te Whare Tapa Wha represented by the *marae* (meeting house), acknowledges that designing for health and wellbeing can be more holistically seen through the four pillars of Māori health: *taha tinana*, physical health and the capacity for physical growth and development; *taha hinengaro*, mental health and the capacity to communicate, feel and think that body and mind are inseparable; *taha wairua*, spiritual health and the capacity for faith and wider communication; and *taha whanau*, family health and the communal response (belonging self and place). At the heart of these pillars is the notion that culture is central to the practice of Māori health and wellbeing (Hopkirk & Wilson, 2014). The pillars can maintain symmetry and balance by treating the 'whole' of the person and achieve wellbeing.

Te Wheke is symbolised by the octopus and encompasses the notion of belonging through *mana ake* (unique identity of self and family); *mauri* (life-force); *haa a koro ma kui ma* (breath and knowledge from ancestors); *whatumanawa* (healthy expression of emotion) (Durie, 1998). The head is formed as the *whanau* (family) and *waiora* (the total wellbeing of individuals and family).

Te Pae Mahutonga is represented through the constellation known as the Southern Cross. This model expresses the cosmic energy in relation to the inner wellbeing (the spiritual and physical). Each star of the constellation represents a different aspect of health promotion. The first is *mauriora* (cultural identity of place); the second *waiora* (physical environment); the third *toiora* (healthy living with environment and people); and the fourth is *te oranga* (participation in society). Together these express the health and wellbeing where *nga manukura* (community leadership) and *mana whakahaere* (autonomy) encompass the notions of self, worth, identity and place (Durie, 1999).

Similarly, the therapeutic qualities of landscape are centralised around the cycle of life. If people and all things are related, then the requirements to consider care and emotions mark the notion of *mauri*, the essence of matter. These holistic perspectives allow ways in which to review traditional practices as a means to create and re-establish therapeutic landscapes. Mātauranga Māori encapsulates the perspectives of

oratory healing through traditions of *whanau* (family) and *hapu* (sub-tribe) and have meaningful roles in supporting, protecting, informing and healing within Māori society (Te Pou, 2010). These customs can thereby be regarded as essential in servicing Māori and Non-Māori health and wellbeing, having an adaptive integrity that is as valid to current generations as it was in the past.

Conclusion

The creation of a therapeutic landscape in a bicultural or multicultural country will inevitability result in a highly contested role for landscape. A dominant culture can suppress alternative ways of knowing and healing; a dominant form of inhabitation can similarly suppress other ways of living. Therapeutic practices may continue but often without the underlying values that facilitate sustainable practice. Arguably sustainability recognises the importance of interconnectedness. Introducing holistic values of therapy from Māori to a wider community as well as revising current practices and developing stronger (re)connections to the landscape are achievable goals and can offer a framework for the future. By understanding different ways of knowing such as that of *Māturanga* Māori, the landscape architect can better comprehend the relationship between people and landscape and how the landscape can function holistically. Landscapes should reflect cultural and ancestral traces, embedding and embodying these holistic concepts. The therapeutic landscape can enable people to feel a sense of security and safety with place. These feelings of belonging allow for the making of *whakapapa* with the landscape while healing self and place.

Similarly, through the exploration of Māori culture and practice the meaning of landscape can be expanded beyond traditional therapeutic landscape ideas. For Māori, the whole natural environment is seen as therapeutic and is another layer developed upon cultural and ancestral landscapes. Within the last few decades, renewed interest in the role of designed natural environments and health have inspired new ways for people to live and communicate with greater quality of life, wellbeing and healing. These new concepts incorporate culture in a symbiotic model where caring landscapes are placed within the framework of landscape authenticity and caring people heal the landscape that nurtures them. Such experiences entice strong partnerships with the common goal of learning to embrace Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) as a way of bringing the community and the landscape together and simultaneously generating a hub in which to share and understand the beauty of the indigenous culture and its connection to nature.

This paper examined the collision of two different cultures and their respective values. It posits a bicultural approach that can lead to new ways of thinking about landscape, health and wellbeing to aid in therapeutic landscape design. Indigenous knowledge extends well beyond the environment and it expresses values and principles about human behaviour, ethics, experiences and relationships as it examines the connections between landscape, treatment, health and wellbeing.

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A Study of Cultural Transmission Through Thai Television Drama

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Abstract

This research entitled "A Study of Cultural Transmission Through Thai Television Drama" were 1) to study a policy of drama television producers on transmitting content of Thai cultures through television drama and 2) to study content of television drama presenting Thai cultures. The result revealed that the majority of producers' policies have been focused on target audiences by producing Thai history-based drama with the addition of Thai cultures in order to make themselves outstanding. Thai identity was presented through each television drama based on its plot which had been selected since pre-production process. Moreover, Thai ways of life was also perfectly integrated together with the presentation of lessons learned based on Thai cultures. The contents presented were to remind audiences of human mind, family life and ways of living which were considered as contemporary cultures rather than authentic Thai cultures.

Keywords: Cultural Transmission, Thai Culture, Television Drama

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Introduction

Nowadays, television media plays very important role in society, television media is one kind of approachable media to the audiences because it became very important thing in living factor of people. It's evident that every home has 1-2 televisions at least and interesting of television a media both attractive audio and video or excitement made audiences impress and keep follow up contents offered through television media and abide by their value in sometimes.

The viewpoints of Cultivation Theory referred to that in the Material object way - television as only "Display Cabinet" but in the Abstract or symbolic way-television is more than display cabinet. This Cultivation Theory concentrated on television is not news and entertainment transmitter not only Thai ways of life reflection but also cultural generator in society. There are important cultural institutions in the late 20th century.

The most of Thai dramas television are one kind of popular culture with meticulous creativity to reach the emotions of masses. Raymond Williams (1988) divided soap operas definition as commercial is 4 level, 1. Popular Culture refers to popular among people 2. They are as remainder of the high culture 3. They are meticulous created and 4. Created by they own characteristics. Although he gave different definitions of "Culture" are classification and equality. In many cultures usually is defined culture in term of culture product including material objects (consumer goods) or traditional customs (Critical culturalism). Raymond Williams who is mastermind gave definition culture in terms of "Cultural process" because of Birmingham which is thinker group influenced by the Marxist concept that concentrated on production procedure and reproduction.

Cultural Transmission, Raymond Williams who is English thinker involve Culturalism said "a society consists of many Social Practices assembled to be holistic, there is Concrete Social Whole Totality and culture constitution of Social Practices that refers to practice inducement cause society aims at achieve their target which is cultivated from society and methods and process to be success must under the framework of their society". In addition the influences on thought of Political Economy of Media that made Raymond Williams focused on the way to study cultures must be considered in concrete object means study whole culture production and culture reproduction for inherit culture and must study how to production, who are produced and how about procedures.

Thai television drama is type of culture reproduction, believe, value to society and reflect to current society situation. Thus if Thai television drama is used as cultivate culture tool, it able to transmit one opinion to society. Reference from Economic and Social Development Plan No. 11 described the way encourage social institutions support all sections to create value and good Thai culture to be ideological for improving people and society. Besides, one of the supports is encourage educating moral in family institution unit. Ethics in the way of life response to good culture restoration and build good value in family unit such as helpfulness and relative in

their life with moral instruction. The purpose is family member able to solve any problems in right way and build conscious mind to beware of impacts on cultural deviation.

The reason, drama influence to audiences so present the contents of story will impact on their mind, attitude and opinion. Thus researcher interested on Cultural transmission through Thai television drama to study a policy of drama television producers on transmitting content of Thai cultures through television drama and to study content of television drama presenting Thai cultures including the producers have targets or policies to intervene in Thai television drama makes tend to great change in Thai drama such as Korean television drama have been intervene Korean culture through their drama and made them are well known in the world

Objectives

1. To study a policy of drama television producers on transmitting content of Thai cultures through television drama and
2. To study content of television drama presented Thai cultures.

Research Framework

Producers' policy	**Contents of Thai television Drama**	**Cultural Transmission Through Thai Television Drama**
- **True4u Digital Television** - **BEC Tero Entertainment Public company limited**	- **Luke Tas** - **Kue Hattha Krong Pipope**	- **Elements Thai Cultural Transmission** - **Values** - **lifestyles** - **Ideologies** - **Contents**
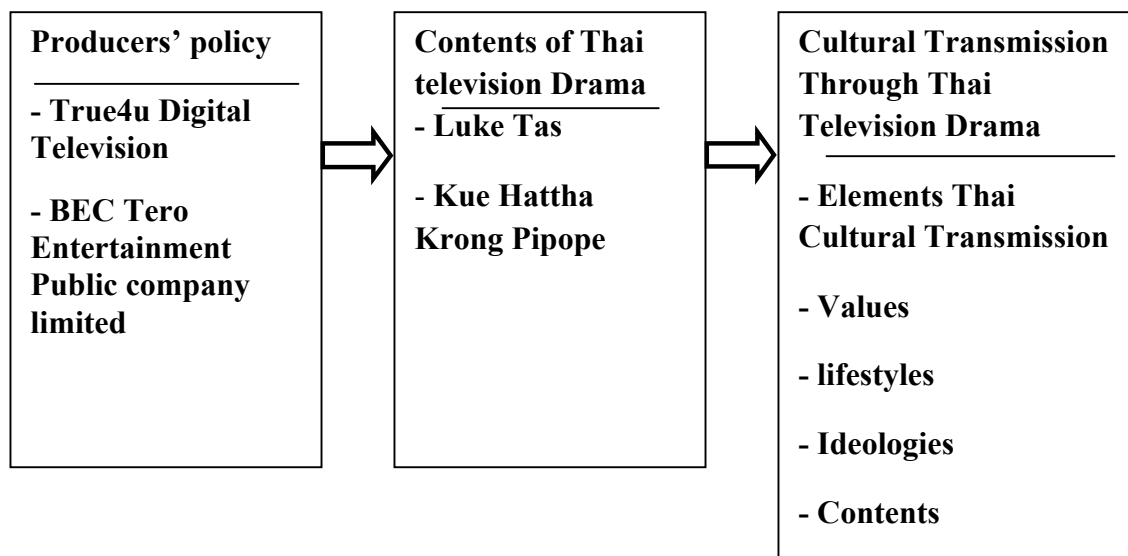
Methodology

This research is qualitative research especially content analysis gathered information about Thai drama on air in year 2014 on Thai television channel 3 and Bangkok Broadcasting Television Channel 7 by purposive selecting 2 highest rating television and dramas from audiences. It were presented Thai culture in content all stories to compared cultural transmission through Thai television dramas are Thai Television drama named Luke Tas written by Rapeeporn or Suwat WoraDilok another drama is Thai Television drama named Kue Hattha Krong Pipope written by Nam-Aob television script by Salaya Sukhaniwat.

This research used In-Dept Interview with 2 producers from 2 companies who are continuous produced dramas and have been produced Thai television drama are Pimploy Bunjachaiyokul who is producer drama in True4u digital TV company, and another interviewee is Jittima Thunyapiroj who is producer from BEC Tero Entertainment Public company limited.

Results and Discussion

The results of this research found that the majority of producers' policies in each company have been focused on target audiences by producing. True 4u digital TV 's policies indicated to create Thai drama that specific Thai drama at the present focused on reproduction presenting as heartburn, envy, rivalry or chasing love which are dominated with Thai television drama market in long time. However when this company set new policies in production Thai drama to intervene more substance contents in differentiated and intervene marketing chance not only substance contents but also added more entertainment. In addition quality of production that required as movie production, so their dramas are different in contents and production from others.

The producer of BEC Tero Entertainment Public company limited, Thai television channel 3, said about their policies in production that most of producers focused on their target market and majority audience are middle class society or urbanite and not expand broad audience. So their Thai television drama will presented concern about middle class people or modern styles. Many Thai television drama in the company are not considered from Channel 3 senior board sometimes submitted 10 stories but may be considered a few story only and Thai television drama in this channel often produced relate Thai national history such as Thai television drama named Luk Tas which was produced by TV Seen Company limited, Natthanun Chaveewong who is producer, they focused on reproduction as they often did before they may not produce history drama or nationalistic drama but main their dramas related to human mind, family life, married life or life styles reflection.

Pimploy Bunjachaiyokul, television drama production manager for True4u Digital TV, said the company has 15 Thai television dramas per year with less number of producers there are different from BEC Tero Entertainment Public company limited which produced 1-2 Thai television drama per year because they have to share with others producers within Channel 3. In one year, Thai television channel 3 has 40 Thai television dramas about.

The concepts of story selection criteria in Thai television production of both companies are same as those chosen creative contents, interesting story and innovative production that are different from the past. Which are their dramas have to add both substance contents and target market together. However they attempt to keep their company's drama characteristics as entertain drama production with perfect combination, True4u Digital TV concentrated on modern drama production or often purchased Korean drama license and remake to Thai drama production style with Thai cast.

Intervention value and Thai culture into contents that was selected before arrange to production which present reflection the way of Thai people life according each contents was considered. Besides they attempt to combine Thai culture, attitude, opinion and belief together in Thai television dramas production for example Som-Tom Burger series written by Venerable Pra Ajarn V.Vajiramedhi, presented concepts of combination between Dharma and Capitalism in society and reflected Buddha religion viewpoint with audiences easy understanding, the many audiences have feedbacks involve learning Thai culture by watching Thai television drama. The content is producer requirement, most audience will be aware of it and will give their opinions and comments on online social media such as Facebook or Twitter, that make producers will know of their opinion's audiences while they are watching the drama immediately. In addition, Channel 3 Thai Television also focus on present contents are not be against Thai culture, norm and value otherwise produces will not be considered on Channel 3 Thai Television drama production. They also concentrated on produce contents that able to present good sides or acceptable attitude for audience, not against moral. Channel 3 Thai television also does not support and not encourage contents which their audiences will absorb not good culture by Thai television media.

True4u Digital TV station focus on produce dramas are intervened a Thai culture to society, it depend on kind of the drams because their new policies are not be follow target market as others but they will intervene value, belief, Thai traditional old and new style and Thai culture in widthwise all contents. True4u Digital TV company insists on Thai social creation present entertainment with Thai traditional contents together. On the other hand Channel 3 Thai Television company has policy to producers produce Thai television drama actor or actress will present nationalism, harmony or contents that make their viewers feel love and harmony   especially thai dramas was created to encourage about national institution, religion and monarchy contents will be considered. Besides, in the future Channel 3 Thai Television company tend to produce drama presented the way life of thai people concept with historical period drama or modern drama. The company of Jittima produce well versed in modern drama so they will produce modern thai television deama style in different viewpoints but still focus on thai cultural contents and not against moral or thai antique culture.

The contents in thai television drama that are intervened thai culture including presented it all stories, researcher purposive selecting 2 highest rating television and dramas from audiences. It were presented Thai culture in content all stories to compared cultural transmission through Thai television dramas are Thai Television drama named Luke Tas, is historical literature written by Rapeeporn or Suwat WoraDilok, first printed in year 1963 on fortnightly newspaper "Diary Monday" and was reproduced thai television drama by TV Seen and Picture company limited on air Channel 3 Thai television on Monday and Tuesday 20.15 pm begin Monday 3rd march 2014 total 13 on air times. Another drama is Thai Television drama named Kue Hattha Krong Pipope written by Nam-Aob television script by Salaya Sukhaniwat and was reproduced thai television drama by Dara Video company limited, on air

every Friday Saturday Sunday 20.20 pm begin on Friday 6th December 2013 to Saturday 7th February 2014 total 20 on air times.

Cultural Transmission Through Thai Television Drama Analysis

The results of this study found elements in cultural transmission through television drama as below.

1. Plot Element- plot must be consists of a sequence of events in drama that the events will be lead to conclusion. Plot is way to identify character and action role of casts, sequence the events integrated to conflict results. Moreover plot is related to each other as element starting Opening Scene which is important scene because it appeals their audience to follow up the television drama. *Luk Tas television drama was opened scene with scene narration to The event Emancipation Proclamation commemorates the mercy of King Chulalongkorn that affected to Kaew, cast in this drama, got opportunity to out of slavery. This scene depicted events before declaration slavery and focused on creating the atmosphere for the audience to emotionally in this scene.*

Thai television drama Kue Hattha Krong Pipope, in year 2014, opening scene with wedding scene which is Chinese wedding ceremony, presented to cultural and traditional infiltration of Thai-Chinese people who live in Thailand. In this opening scene presented characters dramatic and conversation perfectly integrated for generate interesting quickly that can be attract audience follow up to next scene about cast character and how to affects to other events.

2. Narrative Elements - Luk Tas television drama is outstanding in the subject of action is interesting including production, filming and sequencing by using movie production technique integrated and focus of composition is very well combined to presentation technical of the television drama in terms of creating conflict clues in the drama. Moreover conflicts between human and human and also presented main content is social class struggle and character's opinion with comparing between value in that period and the present. There made this is interesting drama with narrative and sequencing events, sometimes may be events that are different places to switch and intervened history contents.

Narrative of Kue Hattha Krong Pipope thai television drama follow calendar sequence events refers to present story as time sequence in chronological order before the aftermath of the events. They focused on main character drama is Lady Sri who is a wife of Phraya Samitipoom Saban-nga, she is villager girl and parents sent her to work for Phraya Samitipoom Saban-nga house because of in debt and after she is a wife of Phraya Samitipoom Saban-nga but she is not willing to be because she has boyfriend name Sukon, younger brother of lady Sri and Phraya Samitipoom Saban-nga, he is work for official government and Phraya position. The main content is reflecting of the greatness and worthy of praise "womanhood" and "motherhood".

3. Happy Ending Element – Happy ending scene is finish with happy or success of characters, in Luke Tas Thai television drama in year 2014 has reflection scene related to relationships between King and in him court official is a scene where King Rama 5 rubbed on her head that presented success of Keaw from slaver to court official by qualified as a barrister. No. 1 and has worked to serve the King.

At the end of Kue Hattha Krong Pipope thai television drama has continue end part called Kue Hattha Krong Pipope Chob Sakol thai were transmitted happy life of being mother including focused on the unhappy life of women who denied being motherhood as Lady Sri (when she was young) and Mekla, ex-wife of Sean, they meet unhappy life and non-substances. Except Prim who is oldest sister of Saban-nga house chosen her life to be nun of Buddhism with peaceful life. She is responsible for evangel Buddha, her happy life is way does not deny being a mother but this drama is presented define motherhood who have kindness, compassion and scarify to others.

Luk Tas television drama was presented about slave content, indicated to difference among Thai social class in that period. In the past period, people were sold to be slave as goods they was no right and no freedom. They were sold to buyer as goods called "slave", buyers like owner they have authority to control their slaves or can punished when their slave do something wrong. The slaves have to work hard and be sexual harassment. Producer of this drama attempts to show slave's character who feel pity, depression and reproduction in many scenes emphasized the image of slave to audience's awareness that slaves are lowest status in Thai social class with shameful life in noble and Thai caste system.

Figure 1: "Luk Tas" Thai television drama.
(taken from http://movie.sanook.com/63797/, Accessed on 1 Aug.2017)

Luk Tas television drama was presented affection in distance elite between social class cannot be reach to each other although men or women slaves have been praised such as slave women is a wife of royal person but she cannot make his proud. Moreover, the endeavor is fatally difficult to be praised specially men slaves, they is

difficult to progress in a career and struggle to overcome many obstacles. In addition, respect of a good slave like high class social accept them to be a part of life and society so some persons will unacceptable this respect who have ever been lowest class change to be the same Luk Tas television drama was emphasized on the anthem of King Chulalongkorn, King Rama V, is the abolition of slavery regime canceled (Emancipation Proclamation) that made thai people has equality without oppression in social life and results thai social progress the point where slavery has been oppressed in the noble house or caste system for hundreds of years. However, reproduction of slaver contents often occurred in Thai television drama many times and will get popularity from audiences demonstrate to severe exuberance of the past in Thai society, they want see and think of old histories value, norm and ways of life in the past.

In the another thai television drama is Kue Hattha Krong Pipope was adapted from novel which writer is based on history period, the story begin since year 1919 was early reign of King Rama VI. The author interprets historical events in accordance with the action of the character in the drama including the pass away King Rama VI situation, World War 2, the change of political and the pass away King Rama VIII situations.

Kue Hattha Krong Pipope is transmitted main women characters are Lady Sri and Saban-nga, Lady Sri who is cruel to all servants in his wife, Phraya Smitibhumi who is husband that made Lady Sri feels sad. While Saban-nga who is pretty woman slave, she has to be a reluctant wife of Phraya Smitibhumi but she is very kindness and in the end every characters accept results of their destiny and affect to their descendants with tragedies happened.

The situation related with this drama characters in Luk Tas thai television is later period of Thai history since after reign of King Rama V to King Rama VI, presented about thai life style, political changing and character of slavery. Although slavery regime to canceled but still have   slaves in changing period because they did not educate about rights and freedom life, they grew up in noble house without knowledge to use in career only did in order from owner. When they have to make decision by themselves, some people cannot find the way of life and cannot make decision by themselves. They still have to act or those who have knowledge, money, wealth, lifestyle and this result are passed on the present that thai society is still social classification system even through Thai social attempts to present had already changed but thai people sticks to seniority system and social inequality.

Figure 2 : "Kue Hattha Krong Pipope" Thai television drama.
(taken from https://pantip.com/topic/31626159, Accessed on 1 Aug.2017)

Kue Hattha Krong Pipope thai television drama accorded noble has ending part is Kue Hattha Krong Pipope Chob Sakol which story is focused on the family life of Phraya Smitibhumi who has 2 wifes are Lady Sri and Saban-nga. Saban-nga was from lower class family so she tried to improve herself to new Lady in the house. This drama reflected the rearing of Thai people in that period and core content of this drama is reflection of attitude loving in motherhood, sacrifice, benefactress of mother beyond times. She has 2 daughters who are inherit ideology and attitude that believes happiness of women is motherhood. Prawpunnarai who is success in her family life with her husband and 4 children because of motherhood she is discreet when she knew that her husband has sexual relationship with others she can keep warm family with love. Prawpilas who is another sister, she has a child but he died because of her stepson she cannot protect but she attempts to protects Sean and ex wife (Mekla)'s son with mother's duty .

This content can easily reach the audience because it is close and quite sensitive for people in Thai society as well as the international community, the content presented affection of mother which is a universal symbol for any nation and any language can understand and reach that feeling in this drama.

Conclusions

Both thai television drama companies similarly selected for their creative contents, interesting, differentiate from original Thai television drama. While this creative contents have to be produced focus on substance integrated with marketing alongside but still keep the unique of main drama characters. It is entertainment drama perfectly integration in both companies. True4u Digital TV Company focused on modern Thai drama or purchased Korean drama license and reproduced to Thai television drama version with casts and conducted in Thailand. They transmitted Thai cultural and Thai traditional according to plot contents was considered. The contents of drama reflecting to the way of thai life are not only produced to their plot but also transmitted reflecting of thai ways of life perfectly integrated. Moreover, they presented concepts, thai value , opinion about Thai cultural in the television dramas.

BEC Tero Entertainment Public company limited or Channel 3 has policy to their producers concentrated on produce thai television drama presenting Thai values, patriotism, harmony in drama that to make people see the love and harmony in thai national especially the drama is produced to encourage and support values in Nation, religion and Majesty will be considered. In addition, in the future the company will has concepts to often present thai ways of life with historical literature including historical period drama or modern drama. The company of Jittima produce well versed in modern drama so they will produce modern thai television deama style in different viewpoints but still focus on thai cultural contents and not against moral or thai antique culture.

The results of this study found elements in cultural transmission through television drama are Plot consists of a sequence of events in drama that the events will be lead to conclusion. Plot is way to identify character and action role of casts, sequence the events integrated to conflict results. Moreover plot is related to each other as element starting Opening Scene which is important scene because it appeals their audience to follow up the television drama. Narrative in television drama is outstanding in the subject of action is interesting including production, filming and sequencing by using movie production technique integrated and focus of composition is very well combined to presentation technical of the television drama in terms of creating conflict clues in the drama. Happy Ending scene is finish with happy or success of characters, in Luke Tas Thai television drama in year 2014 has reflection scene related to relationships between King and in him court official is a scene where King Rama 5 rubbed on her head that presented success of Keaw from slaver to court official by qualified as a barrister. No. 1 and has dedicated to serve the King.

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London and the Cockney in British Cinema

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Abstract

This paper surveys the cinematic representations of Cockneys from the 1940s to the present day. Beginning with feature films made during the Second World War, it examines how the image of the traditional Cockney underwent a radical transformation during the second half of the 20th century. The analysis follows the major social upheavals in British society—the austerity of the 1940s, the affluence of the 1950s, the Swinging London scene of the 1960s, the social strife of the 1970s, Thatcherism in the 1980s, and the aftermath of the Thatcher years in the 1990s—and looks at how the image of the Cockney in films has been shaped by and responded to these changes. The discussion focuses in particular on the impact of the shift from communal to individual values and lifestyles.

Keywords: British cinema, Cockney, London

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Introduction

This paper examines some of the key ways in which Cockneys have been represented in British cinema in the period from the Second World War up to the present day. My approach, given the breadth of the subject, will be to move through the period chronologically and discuss certain landmark films, social developments, film characters and iconic Cockney actors. My particular interest will be in exploring how screen Cockneys have been constructed in response to the polar demands of, at one end of the societal value spectrum, communality and altruism and, at the other, individuality and criminality. Most of the films discussed or mentioned here, mainstream rather than art-house, are set in the Cockney heartland of the East End. Others, though, are located in other districts of the capital. I should explain, therefore, that I use the term Cockney in a generalised sense here to refer to the ordinary Londoner from the working or lower-middle classes.

Soldiers and sailors and the Communal Values of the 'People's War'

I take the Second World War as my starting point because this conflict is the great watershed moment in modern British social history, ushering in an era of inclusive, consensual politics symbolised above all by the creation by Clement Atlee's Labour government of the welfare state. It is a period in which there was a tectonic shift as the working classes, emboldened by their wartime sacrifice and struggle, threw off pre-war subservience to take what they saw as their rightful place in a more equitable society. Feature films in the early years of the war—melodramas like *Convoy* (1940) and *Ships with Wings* (1941) are good examples—had focused disproportionately on the urbane and gentlemanly officers and their heroic exploits. As Lindsay Anderson observed archly,

> the working-class characters in such films, make excellent servants, good tradesmen, and first-class soldiers. On the march, in slit trenches, below deck, they crack funny Cockney jokes or . . . they die well, often with a last, mumbled message on their lips to the girl they left behind them in the Old Kent Road, but it is up there on the bridge that the game is really played, as the officers raise binoculars repeatedly to their eyes, converse in clipped monosyllables, and win the battles. (qtd. in Wesker, 1994: 461)

The fight against Fascism would not be achieved by these socially superior officers alone, however, but by the concerted effort of the British population as a whole, from all classes and regions. As the wartime government quickly realised, a new and collective sense of national identity would have to be constructed in order to fight the good fight. To this end, the Crown Film Unit of the Ministry of Information was charged with the creation of a series of documentaries that would convey the communal wartime effort of the common people to the common people. *London Can Take It!*, a short film made by Humphrey Jennings in 1940 that focused on the fortitude of ordinary Londoners during the Blitz, marked a key moment in the cinematic reconfiguration of the Cockney. The American narrator, an outsider whose perspective on the population of London is unburdened by any baggage of class affiliation, declares in the weary voice of the frontline war correspondent:

I have watched the people of London live and die ever since death in its most ghastly garb began to come here as a nightly visitor five weeks ago, and I can assure you there is no panic, no despair in London Town. There is nothing but determination, confidence and high courage among the people of Churchill's island.

The slippage here is the point that is worth emphasising. Ordinary Londoners, far from being the underclass, now become representatives of the British people, fighting with tenacity on what, during the Blitz, has become the home front. "Brokers, clerks, peddlars, merchants by day," the narrator declares, "they are heroes by night." Thus, heroic Cockneys stand metonymically for heroic Britons of all stripes. Ealing Studios, influenced by the Crown Film Unit documentary dramas, began to make features which downplayed melodrama, presented characters and settings in a more realistic way, and balanced the screen time and characterisation of the different ranks and classes. The result was a shift away from the melodramatic *Boys Own*-type exploits of an exclusive officer class as in *Convoy* and *Ships with Wings* towards more democratic and inclusive films such as *In Which We Serve* and *The Foreman Went to France* (both 1942), and *San Demetrio, London* (1943). As the film historian Roger Manvell observes, "the 'war story' with a patriotic slant began to give way to the 'war documentary', which derived the action and to a greater extent the characterization from real events and real people." (Manvell, 1974: 101)

Fig. 1 The thoroughly decent Billy Mitchell (played by
John Mills) in *This Happy Breed*

The wartime politics of consensus were beginning to create cross-class alliances in the struggle towards the common goal of victory. Consequently, working-class characters were portrayed with greater depth and sensitivity than before. Shorty Blake, the Cockney ordinary seaman played by John Mills in the naval drama *In Which We Serve*, for example, is a far more developed character than the two-dimensional wise-cracking Cockney in *Convoy*. We do not only witness Blake going about his duties on board ship but also in extended scenes at home on leave and with his fiancée. Such is his presence in the film, indeed, that he becomes the proletarian counterweight to Noel Coward's patrician Captain Kinross—a character modelled, incidentally, on Lord Mountbatten. Blake, like Jennings's blitzed Cockneys, is constructed in such a way as to embody the cheerful pluck of the ordinary British people. Michael Balcon, the head of Ealing, was very concerned, however, to keep an expanded Cockney role such as this within tight bounds. Blake and his now young wife evidently know their place on the social ladder, as is seen in their (apparently) grateful acceptance of some

marital advice from the paternalistic Kinrosses during a chance encounter on a train as they head off on their honeymoon. A more three-dimensional and realistic construction Blake may have been, but he still tugged away at an implied forelock. Mills reprised his Cockney ordinary seaman role as Billy Mitchell in Noel Coward and David Lean's *This Happy Breed* (1944) (Fig. 1), a film that focused solely on Cockney working-class characters, whilst referencing the heroism of the British people in its Shakespearean title.

Spivs and Teds and the Rise of Individuality and Criminality

The wartime emphasis on communal values was already under threat in the final year or two of the war, not from the Nazis but from the so-called spivs on the streets who tempted honest citizens off the straight and narrow path of shared austerity. These flashily dressed black marketeers flourished by meeting the endless demand created by rationing with an equally endless supply of goods stolen from dockland warehouses. During the nine long years of austerity and rationing that continued after the Peace, a great challenge facing the authorities was how to curb the activities of these dangerous individualists. It is no surprise, then, that when the Cockney spiv turned up in a number of British films from the mid-1940s on, he was constructed as a subversive presence that must be eradicated. One of the spiv's earliest appearances was in *Waterloo Road* (1944) in the figure of the flamboyant Ted Purvis, acted by the suave Stewart Granger, whose tie is loud even in black and white. Pitted against him is the thoroughly decent Everyman Jim Coulter (played by John Mills), a Cockney soldier who has gone AWOL in order to check up on rumours of his wife's infidelity. The conflict at the heart of *Waterloo Road* identifies it as a 'state-of-England' film. The narrator figure, played by the avuncular character actor Alistair Sims, is Dr Montgomery, a local family physician who metaphorically measures the temperature of a feverish nation. Bemoaning the activities of the spivs, he tells Coulter,

> I sometimes think the remedy is in your hands . . . the hands of the people you represent. You make the sacrifices, you fellows in the services. You don't want the Ted Purvises of this world to reap the benefits when it's all over.

He then deliberately eggs Coulter on to put the spiv, whom he describes, continuing his medical discourse, as a "symptom of a general condition," in his place. The climax comes when Coulter, the decent underdog, defeats Purvis in a fist fight. The film closes with Montgomery, the nation's doctor, having delivered Jim Coulter Jnr. into the world, pondering darkly on the future. "We'll need good citizens when this lot's over," he muses. "Millions of them."

These good Cockney citizens appeared in a cycle of films which looked with an affectionate eye on the social tensions of the time. The Ealing Comedies, for all their humour and loveable eccentrics, had a serious intent, namely to help, like Jim Coulter, to stem criminality and promote communality. Good citizenship is the unequivocal message of *Passport to Pimlico* (1949). The Cockney inhabitants of Miramont Place initially assert their right to independence after an ancient document is discovered in a bomb crater. Their tenacity in the face of governmental hostility consciously draws upon the still fresh memory of the fighting spirit of ordinary Londoners during the Blitz. These citizens, led by 'Prime Minister' Arthur Pemberton (played by iconic Cockney comic Stanley Holloway) are presented in such a way as to represent the

British population as a whole. When Pimlico is blockaded, for example, a newspaper headline announces, in an echo of *London Can Take It!*, "World sympathy for crushed Cockneys." However, as the relaxation of rationing threatens to turn this tiny piece of 'Burgundy' into, as Pemberton puts it, "a spivs' paradise," so the good citizens return patriotically to the communal fold. Better selflessly to endure austere Britain than selfishly enjoy affluent but morally lax Burgundy.

The short step from concern about black marketeering to panic about increasing criminality was reflected in the cycle of Hollywood-influenced films noirs which appeared around that time (Miller 1994). *They Made Me a Fugitive* and *It Always Rains on Sunday* (both 1947), *Noose* and *London Belongs to Me* (both 1948), *Night and the City* (1950), and *Pool of London* (1951), for example, sounded the alarm and depicted London as, in the words of film historian Jeffrey Richards, a "totally unregulated free enterprise society where anyone can supply anything to anyone for a price, a society of human piranhas swimming greedily through shoals of shady deals and sudden turbulent eddies of violence." (Richards, 1997: 145) The jostling tension between communality and criminality, embodied in two very different types of Cockney, was the underlying theme of the classic law and order film, *The Blue Lamp* (1950) (Barr, 1980: 82-92).

Fig. 2   Delinquent Cockney youth personified by Tom Riley (played by Dirk Bogarde) in *The Blue Lamp*

In the style of many of the wartime dramas put out by Ealing, *The Blue Lamp* employs a quasi-official discourse. It opens with an acknowledgement of the technical assistance provided by the Metropolitan Police, and newspaper headlines are used to create the atmosphere of a society buffeted by crime. The audience's loyalty in the fight against crime is implicitly solicited when the narrator asks in clipped RP tones: "What protection has the man in the street against this armed threat to his life and property?" This threat comes not from professional criminals who, we are assured, "live by a code of conduct" but from "restless and ill-adjusted youngsters." All that stands between the vulnerable public and delinquents like Tom Riley, the young armed robber played by Dirk Bogarde (Fig. 2), are ordinary bobbies on the beat like PC 693 George Dixon, played by Jack Warner. When Dixon the rock-solid Cockney servant of the community is murdered by Riley halfway through the film, a sense of moral outrage towards delinquent youth and the threat it poses to established values is fostered. Significantly, Riley's eventual capture is achieved with the cooperation of the criminal fraternity at a site of working-class culture, the White City dog racing

stadium. Thus, ordinary Londoners, on both sides of the law, uphold the good of the community by closing ranks in order to deliver up a dangerous deviant.

It was in the mid-1950s, amid growing prosperity, that the first fully fledged youth cult in post-war Britain emerged in working-class areas of London. The arrival of the so-called Teddy Boys precipitated a moral panic (Springhall, 1998). Their outrageous Edwardian style of dress was a provocation aimed at the stoical members of the older generations who had endured nearly a decade of post-war rationing in their drab and patched clothes. This was the moment, as official discourse had it, that the baton of criminal individuality was passed from the spiv to the juvenile delinquent. The new phenomenon of youth supposedly on the rampage now became the theme of a cycle of so-called social problem films such as *Cosh Boy* (1953), *Secret Place* (1957), and *No Trees in the Street* (1959). Significantly, the British Board of Film Censors was quick to discourage new scripts that in any way glamorised the delinquents. But it was a losing battle, as youth culture, on the threshold of the Sixties, gathered a head of steam.

The cycles of films about flashy spivs and Teds paved the way for the emergence in the sexually and socially liberated mid-1960s of the actor who, for most people, was to become the iconic screen Cockney, namely Maurice Joseph Micklewhite, or as he is better known, Michael Caine. For the first time in the Sixties it was hip to be working-class and cool to be Cockney. It was even cooler, of course, if you were the real thing. Unlike Mick Jagger and photographer David Bailey, with their faux-Cockney accents, Caine had a genuine pedigree, with his Billingsgate fish porter dad and charlady mum. His performance as cool and ironic spy Harry Palmer in *The Ipcress File* (1965) bristled with the new confidence of the Metropolitan working class. John Mills's Shorty Blake had known his place and, for all his wise-cracking, kept to it. Caine's Palmer, by contrast, displayed a very different relationship with superiors whose only lever of control over him was the threat to send him back to military prison. In every other way, though, even down to his preference for champignons over mushrooms, he outclassed them—and they knew it. As Spicer notes, "Palmer is imbued with traditional working-class certainties: bosses are vile, work awful and the only response is to look after Number One." (Spicer, 2001: 77) But it was Caine's portrayal of the title role in *Alfie* (1966) that announced that the New Cockney had arrived. As Spicer suggests, Alfie is a "Jack-the-lad whose promiscuity coincided with Caine's own star persona and reported lifestyle." (Ibid.: 118) The genius of director Gilbert Lewis was to allow Caine/Alfie to create a direct relationship with his audience through conspiratorial asides, nudges and winks (Fig. 3). This ploy created the feeling that here was a real and recognisable Cockney of his times speaking in his own witty voice.

Fig. 3   On-screen/off-screen Cockney Michael Caine in *Alfie*

Amoral Alfie, with his Mod dandyism, his fiddles at work, and his serial womanising, was a stylish spiv for the Sixties. With the parallels between his off-screen rags-to-riches success story and his on-screen cocky arrogance as Alfie, Caine stood as the very symbol of the socioeconomic and cultural progress made by the Cockney in the twenty years that had passed since 1945. Jeffrey Richards notes that: "As a self-made Cockney, Caine was proud of his success, keen to play up to his celebrity, identifying himself as part of a new generation of meritocrats who refused to be self-deprecating." (Richards, 1992: 78) Still, as the pessimistic edge to Alfie and other Swinging London films such as *Darling*, *The Knack* (both 1965) and *Georgy Girl* (1966), indicated, the Sixties party would end soon, and a different Cockney would be constructed.

Gangsters and the Criminalisation of the Cockney

Swinging Sixties London was not only a great locus of liberationist youth culture, it was also the hunting ground of organized criminals epitomised by the notorious twins Ronnie and Reggie Kray (Pearson, 1972). Any consideration of the cinematic representation of Cockneys cannot sidestep their brooding and menacing presence in the 1960s social landscape. The mythologizing of the Krays into 'folk heroes' has long been an essential element in the rose-tinted construction of the East End. The public image cultivated by the brothers was of two smartly tailored Cockney businessmen who supported an array of causes, particularly boys' clubs, with unstinting generosity. Fastidious about their appearance, they hobnobbed with film stars and aristocrats at their West End clubs. Yet the other image, of course, was of two extremely violent thugs who resorted to blackmail, torture and murder in their bid to control London's underworld. Following their highly publicised trial at the Old Bailey, one of the signs that the Sixties party was about to end, the cinematic image of the Cockney, already criminalised, became, darker and more violent, self-referential and narcissistic. The fascination with the twins, especially the psychopathic Ronnie, spawned three notable Cockney gangster films at the outset of the 1970s. Richard Burton's portrayal in *Villain* (1971) of East End gang boss Vic Dakin, a thinly disguised portrayal of Ronnie, showed the frighteningly unhinged and cruel quality of the violence of which this man was capable. The second, Donald Cammell's complex and ground-breaking film *Performance* (1970) starred Mick Jagger and James Fox in a drama of merged and confused identities and sexualities. This film drew again on the disturbed psychology of Ronnie Kray to articulate the moment of confusion and darkness at the end of the Sixties (MacCabe, 1998). The third film, *Get Carter!* (1971), offered Michael Caine his first opportunity to play the type of role with which

he is now a;ready synonymous, namely the East End gangster. As he writes in his autobiography,

> For me it was a chance to show gangsters as they really are. The tradition in British films up until then, with the exception of Graham Greene's *Brighton Rock*, was that gangsters were either very funny or Robin Hood types, stealing from the rich and giving to the poor. Not a realistic portrait. (Caine, 1992: 322-3)

In contrast to the performances in *Performance* of the Old Harrovian Fox and the Shakespearean Burton which, for all their brilliance and intensity, were 'stagey', the realism of Caine's characterisation was inflected by the working-class 'street cred' I mentioned above. What linked Caine's characterisation to the Krays, especially for contemporary audiences familiar with the revelations of the trial, was the way it combined dandyism, misogyny and calculated violence in a more realistic and believable way. The cinematic representation of the Kray twins culminates, of course, in the 1990 biopic *The Krays* (1990), directed by Peter Medak. This film, written by East End playwright Philip Ridley, set out to explore the pathology of the twins' violence, tracing it to their over-protective mother Violet and their weak and often absent father, but, as the novelist Iain Sinclair points out, it also perpetuated the nostalgic, romantic image of an East End populated by loveable rogues:

> As cinema Medak's *The Krays* was pure Music Hall, a parade of turns, gaudy and saccharine, heritage stuff dipping into the collective dream with the same relish as that shown by the old hoods themselves. Historical revisionism on an Archer scale. Clip clop along the cobbles. (Sinclair, 1996: 22)

I turn my attention now to another individual who profoundly influenced the way that the Cockney gangster would be represented on the screen, former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The Iron Lady's impact on the life of Londoners during her tenure at 10 Downing Street was profound. The rate-capping of local government councils who opposed her market-driven approach to the slashing of public services, the silencing of local democracy with the abolition of the Greater London Council and Inner London Education Authority, the replacement of the working-class community on the Isle of Dogs with that monument to yuppy greed Canary Wharf, to name three of her signature policies, showed her contempt for ordinary Londoners. Thatcherism and gangsterism, one could say, share a social Darwinist view of society, a dog-eat-dog world in which winners take all and losers go down. These parallels are explored in *The Long Good Friday* (1981), written by the left-wing East End playwright Barrie Keefe. It was this film that established the hard-man image of another celluloid Cockney, Bob Hoskins. Hoskins plays the gang boss Harold Shand, a figure who shares the desire for success and upward mobility of the Krays as well as the tendency towards psychopathic violence that ultimately thwarts that desire.

Fig. 4　Gang boss Harold Shand (played by Bob Hoskins)
delivering his Thatcherite speech in *The Long Good Friday*

Shand's Thatcherite dream–one which will unravel in the film before his eyes–is to make colossal profits from the redevelopment of the derelict Docklands. Drawing, like Mrs Thatcher, on a nostalgic view of Britain's imperial past–"Used to be the greatest docks in the world at one time, this," he tells a mafia guest from America– Shand positions himself as the man most fit for the job of revitalising the East End. Standing on the deck of his luxury cruiser, and framed by the heritage structure of Tower Bridge in the background, the Cockney gang boss addresses his guests from both sides of the Atlantic (Fig. 4):

> Ladies and gentlemen. I'm not a politician. I'm a businessman . . . with a sense of history. And I'm also a Londoner, and today is a day of great historical significance for London. Our country's not an island anymore. We're a leading European state. And I believe that this is the decade in which London will become Europe's capital. Having cleared away the outdated, we've got mile after mile, acre after acre of land for our future prosperity. No other city in the world has got right in its centre such an opportunity for profitable progress.

Despite Shand's attempted appropriation of history, this film underlines the fact that the tradition that he constructs is one that cannot be carried forward. Shand, like a tyrannosaurus rex, is supremely ill-equipped to deal with the changing circumstances of London. His refusal to accept the presence of Blacks is a clear indication of this. The irony of his 'tradition' speech is that it is Shand himself who is outdated and must be cleared away. And so he is, by the Irish Republican Army.

The cinematic Cockney dinosaurs live on, though. The last five years has seen an outpouring of gangster films aimed at the 18-25 laddish audience (Chibnall, 2001). These include *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels* (1998) and its follow-up *Snatch* (2000), both directed by Guy Ritchie, *Gangster No. 1* (1999); *Essex Boys* and *Shiner*; *Love, Honour and Obey*; and *Rancid Aluminium*, all made in 2000, and *Sexy Beast* (2001). It would be misleading to group all these films closely together under a single generic heading, however. *Lock, Stock* and *Snatch*, with their splatter violence, punchy one-liners and comic strip characterisation and plots, make no attempt to disguise their debt to American films like *Goodfellas* and *Reservoir Dogs*. These are tongue-in-cheek yarns. *Gangster No. 1*, however, is a far darker exploration of the evil, cruelty and moral bankruptcy of gangsterism. And *Essex Boys*, the title of which nods at the values of the nouveau riche, neo-Conservative so-called 'Essex Man' who voted Mrs Thatcher into power, depicts the extreme violence of the drug dealers.

Other films have offered a more redemptive perspective on ordinary life in the capital (Murphy, 2001). Stephen Frears's satirical *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), for example, which paints a searing picture of life in Thatcher's London, relates the gay love between Omar, a London-born, second-generation Pakistani immigrant, and Johnny, an ex-National Front skinhead. Their love, which creates a space of harmony between the divided Asian and white communities, and finds symbolic fruition in the establishment of the laundrette, provides a sense of optimism. This is also present in the 1996 film *Beautiful Thing*, which relates the gay love that unfolds between two teenage lads, Jamie and Ste, on a housing estate in south-east London. Both boys face troubles in their everyday lives. Jamie is a bright but introverted boy who regularly plays truant and argues with his mother. Next door lives Ste, popular and good-looking, who seeks refuge with Jamie and his mother from the beatings inflicted by his drunken father. During one such night, Ste sleeps in the same bed as Jamie, and gradually they discover their mutual affection. Two films, then, both foregrounding beauty in their titles, that offer redemption in the way they construct their Cockney protagonists in terms of ethnicity and sexuality. Michael Winterbottom's *Wonderland* (1999) relates the interlocking lives of three sisters in their respective searches for love. These south Londoners are emotionally battered warriors on the front line of urban life. Winterbottom remarks:

> What appealed to me about the script was that it created a picture of London which I recognised, but hadn't seen on film before. The sense of restlessness, of that constant battle which people have to keep their heads above water and, more importantly, to find some space and time in which to try and enjoy life.

Conclusion

We have seen how the filmic representation of the Cockney has charted and illustrated some of the key social shifts in London and British life over the past half century and more. The grand narrative of a consensual community of Cockneys, constructed and propagated during the Second World War, fell apart at the very moment in which it lost its raison d'être. Individualism, at first driven by the consumerism of the affluent late- 1950s and the greater social mobility of the 1960s, ate away at any remaining austerity-policed notions of community. Thus, in films, the spivs and Teds superseded the good citizens. For Alfie, there was no community, no family–only people and organisations to be ripped off. In these films, as Jeffrey Richards has noted, "the exaltation of the individual, the unrestrained self, in pursuit of gratification" are foregrounded (Richards, 1992: 234). This shift from communality to individuality segued into the divisiveness of the Thatcher years. And as London and British society has become more and more diversified one scarcely speaks now of an overarching community based on geography and class–the traditional working-class East End community, for example–but rather of a plurality of communities created around such notions as shared ethnicity or sexual preference: the 'gay community', the 'Asian community' and so on. Gareth Stedman Jones has written of the 'death' of what he refers to as that embarrassing anachronism the Cockney, a term that for him conjures a past world in which the common people of London were white and predominantly Anglo-Saxon. He writes: "The 'cockney' has no legitimate place in the declassed and multiracial society that post-imperial Britain has become. The epoch of the 'cockney' is over." (Stedman Jones, 1989: 273) Certainly anyone

watching the recent film Last Orders would think that the funeral rites for the white Anglo-Saxon Cockney–the so-called traditional Cockney–had been uttered. It is fitting that in that film it should be the ashes of the character played by Michael Caine–the actor more than anyone else who had ushered in the New Cockney on the silver screen–that are being taken to be scattered. With the traditional white Cockney being swept away with their communities in the East End and other working class neighbourhoods in London, and the changes in British society that have come with multiculturalism, it is clear that British cinema from now on will have to take account of the ethnic diversity of the Capital. To be sure, with films such as *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* (1987), *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002) and *Brick Lane* (2007), this shift towards more diverse representations has already started and will gain in momentum.

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Tourism Communication of Bangkok Governor

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The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2017
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
The objectives of this research is 1) To study the communication of Bangkok Governor and Tourism policy and 2) To study tourism communication of Bangkok Governor. The Methodology of this research are Qualitative and Descriptive. This is a documentary research which basically its source of information are as followed: 1) Primary document which is Bangkok Governor's policy 2) Secondary Document which provides related information from Books, Documentary and Internet. Data analysis is a research tool. The study found that Firstly, Tourism policy of Bangkok Governor called "one special mission, five immediately implemented policies and nineteen urgent missions" can be divided into 3 groups: first Group is Safety community. This develops safety intersection and Public Eyes project by changing secluded and dangerous to clear and airy area. Second is Cleanliness policy under Big cleaning day project to promote a campaign to eliminate water hyacinth along Chao Praya River. Last group is convenient policy, which serving application called Bangkok 2U to update city residents of flood and traffic. Secondly, for tourism communication of Bangkok Governor, the activity called Walking around Ratanakosin has been held. This is an activity to walk along the distance to visit many historical places which in turn, its historic would be promoted. Moreover, to encourage cultural tourism and the booths selling products under Bangkok Brand and street food would be set up. Furthermore, the Phra Pokklao Sky park which is a public garden observatory on 280 meters sky walkway along Chao Praya River.

Keywords: Communication, Tourism, Bangkok Governor

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Introduction

Bangkok is the capital of Thailand. Growth of the country is Education Transportation Finance Bank Communication and Bangkok is the total area of 1,568.737 square kilometers with a population of over five million people. Located on the Chao Phraya River Delta Chao Phraya River flowing through and 2 side the Phra Nakhon and Thonburi. Bangkok is modern society of Thailand is the public transport hub of countries. Bangkok is a special administrative region of the country. The location was quite important because it could serve as a gateway to the sea and a port to promote the international trade. A large number of international commercial tax and tariff was levied from this area. Krung Thep Maha Nakorn literally means the City of Angels. The full name is Krung-thep-maha-nakorn-boworn-ratana-kosin-mahintar-ayudhya-amaha-dilok-pop-nopa-ratana-rajthani-burirom-udom-rajniwes-mahasat-arn-amorn-pimarn-avatar- satit-sakattiya-visanukam-prasit. It is simply called Krung Thep Maha Nakhon. However, English-speaking foreigners prefer the original name of Bangkok. As Thailand's main port, Bangkok has always been more cosmopolitan than other regions of the country. The government sector does play a significant role as the employee in Bangkok, there are also the number of jobs in commerce, construction, manufacture and various services.Banks and other financial services employ many people, as do highly esteemed jewelry and hospitality industries.

The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) is organized in accordance with the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration Act 1985, to be responsible for the management of the city of Bangkok. It is the sole organization at the local authority level responsible for the well-being of Bangkok residents with some financial support from the central government. The BMA comprises of two main bodies: the Governor and the Bangkok Metropolitan Council. The Bangkok Metropolitan Council comprises of elected members. The number of member depends on the number of the Bangkok population. One member represents one hundred thousand people. Currently there are 60 members. The Bangkok Metropolitan Council is, in fact, the legislative body, which usually takes care of making local laws, ordinances, regulations, rules and by-laws as measures of city development and management, and management, and the Bangkok Metropolitan Council also reads, also reads, scrutinizes and approves the consideration and allocation of annual budget. In addition, the Council also acts as the representative of Bangkok's population to indirect control of the performance of the city administration tasks and to ask for its explanation. The existing institutional framework of BMA is divided into 3 offices 16 Departments and 50 district offices (see organization chart). The office acts as the Secretary to the Governor, the Bangkok Metropolitan Council and the Civil Service Commission of the BMA. The Department is responsible for planning, management, supervision, monitoring and evaluation whereas the District Office operates field work. The sixteen departments mostly cover the BMA's functions specified by laws; city planning, environment, education, strategy and evaluation, public works, social development, health and etc. Each district office also provides services related to the city's mentioned functions at the district level. Bangkok employs a workforce of 97,000, including 3,200 municipal officers in Bangkok city, 200 in the city Law Enforcement Department, and 3,000 in district offices.

Bangkok has elected Bangkok Governor directly as head of the management of local governments, special formats, Bangkok. There is a direct election. Each term four years. The Governor of Bangkok is the head of the local government of Bangkok. The governor is also the chief executive of the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). The governor is elected to a renewable term of four years, currently it is one of the two directly

elected executive offices in the kingdom. The office is comparable to that of a city mayor. The current incumbent is Pol Gen Aswin Kwanmuang. He was appointed by Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha using Section 44 of the interim charter to replace Sukhumbhand Paribatra. The reason given for his ouster was because he was involved in many legal cases.

Presently, Bangkok is a tourist destination popular for students. Travel around the world. Likely increase every year, Bangkok is an important destination of foreign tourists who are traveling in the country, Thailand. The Web site TripAdvisor has revealed that Bangkok is a city. In 2014 Bangkok is number 0ne in Asia and number 13 of the world and from a survey of publicly available information about the MasterCard survey of ultimate destination endpoints, MasterCard's world (Mastercard Globla Destinations Cities Index) in the year 2016, Bangkok. Champion ranked one of the cities most visited in the world. The number of 21.47 million people and CNN news Excluding Bangkok was ranked 1 in 23 cities with Street food the best in the world.
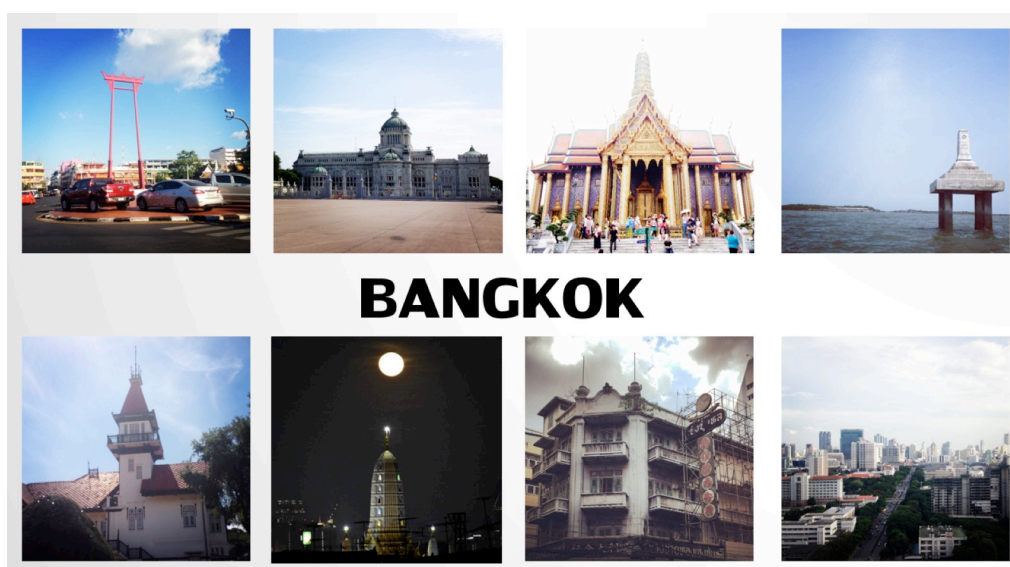
Effective communication : The reliability of the source of the substance, including reliability. Unique expertise attracting charm similarity between sources and recipients of substances and substance. Opinion leaders. Tickling and attract attention. The communication is interactive. Communication from the leader of the comment and opinion leaders, leading them to convey information per. Influence of influence using Group make up the group. Bringing the communication used in tourism were selected the most appropriate methods for communicating information that on sightseeing tourist groups toward the goal. Travel sales To encourage the population to travel more public relation communication formats to broader consumer access is only one way communication. The consumer is not able to comment. All communication is to stimulate awareness. Be inspired by virtue of the various media and communications public relations to reach consumers in a narrow band as a two way communication. Consumers can comment or find insight in an instant by a group of consumer.

The capital of the country, Thailand is considered the destination of tourists who want to explore. Cost of living is not high. Delicious food is a source of entertainment in all aspects. There are good services, tourism, culture, and people very friendly. Create the experience with visitors. While the weakness of the Bangkok transit system improvements including welcome many tourists. Planning and preparing a whole lot more stories, travel, attractions,

which needs rules and guidelines and to provide more safety. Communication of the Bangkok Governor to travel there Bangkok, Bangkok Governor is an Executive job to communicate the importance of tourism in the destination number one aim of tourists all over the world. Which researchers would study. Communication to the tourism of Bangkok Governor.

The objective of the research

      1. Communication of the Bangkok Governor to tourism policy.
      2. Communication to the tourism of Bangkok Governor .

Research Framework

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┌─────────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────────┐
│  Policy of Bangkok  │          │  Communication of   │
│     Governor        │          │  Bangkok Governor   │
└─────────────────────┘          └─────────────────────┘
            │                                │
            ▼                                ▼
      ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
      │              Tourism                  │
      └──────────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼
      ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
      │                                       │
      │  Tourism Communication of Bangkok     │
      │             Governor                  │
      │                                       │
      └──────────────────────────────────────┘
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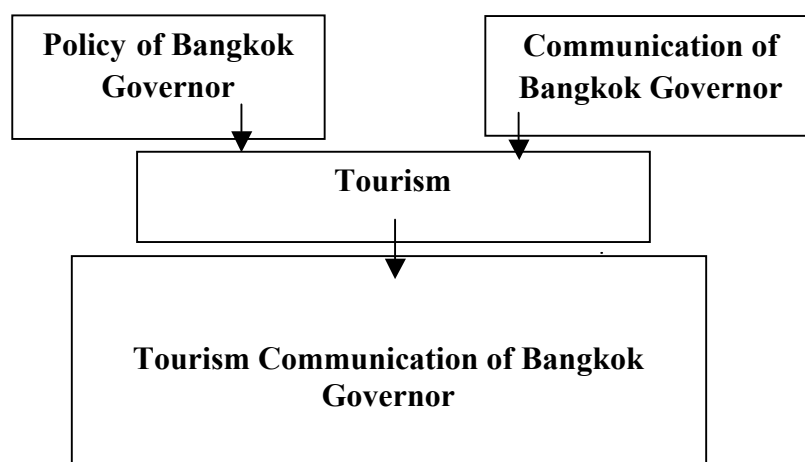
Research Method

This research is qualitative research qualitative research is descriptive research by documents research. Using content analysis from data source 2 source: information from the document as follows: 1. primary documents include policies of Bangkok Governor 2. secondary document include Facebook 's Governor, Bangkok. Bangkok's website and media website that has content related to the research.

The tool used is a content analysis. Collecting data from a sample using a content analysis model that is created for collecting the sample. It takes 90 days between 15 November 2016 date 15 February 2017.

Data analysis by analyzing the content analysis to create a conclusion using the theoretical concepts is the main base for the analysis of preliminary discovery considered that, consistent with the theory which one theory on the theoretical concepts studied. The process, terms and conditions, and then discussion meet.

Result of the study

1. The communication of the Bangkok Governor to travel policies, according to a statement of policy, Bangkok Governor has 1 special mission 5 Instant policy 19 missions immediately, a policy of Bangkok Governor related to tourism policy 1. Special Mission 5 Instant policy 19 mission pushed immediately following

Policy 1 (CLEAN) Home town, clean, unspoiled by the government, there are 3 practice-oriented mission immediately. As follows: The establishment of a mission center for responsive, transparent government, clean & clear or Bangkok Fast & Clear accepted registration and authorization to reduce the process period, according to the standard facilities act as a force mission to Bangkok to organized activities Big Cleaning Day trotting clean all areas at least 1 time per month and campaigning mission lowering water hyacinth non Canal flooded with lead water hyacinth to privatize benefits, increased revenue for the public.

Policy 2 (CONVENIENT) Use the convenient life. Information by cleanliness, there are 4 missions aimed at practice. Therefore, this application missions Bangkok2U knows the rainy weather information, events, floods, and Real Time traffic so that individuals can choose a route that is suitable. Accelerated cooling water management mission command 24 hours with a remote centralized control of pumps to drain water in flooded areas, weaknesses in the shortest time. Mission: science based monkey cheeks made privately persuaded the King in the area would be flooded by the weakness in housing pilot areas ladprao. Cooperative use of swamp water as water monkey cheeks with the installation of water pumps reduce the time flood detention mission crossroads care. Attention everyone. By pushing the development of major junctions in conjunction with the private sector in the area, is the convenience, safety and features of the flow, the. Seniors and the general public.

Policy 3 (COMMUNITY) property safe, secure life. Community and social security by having 4 mission-oriented practice. Follows the mission actually Capture the truth. The car parked and ran on foot by chakuat Khan 6 routes with maximum issue include: Sukhumvit Road. Rama 4 road, Petchburi road Phahonyothin road. Ratchadapisek road, charansanitwong road. If found, violators are adjusted as soon as 5,000 baht to closed missions around breaking the law by tightening the chakuat organize services that are open late and drink alcohol, children younger than 20 years of mission Public Eyes. Network surveillance security in life and property, pilot 24-hour in-class area in the central business district and transportation connection points. The mission area is a desolate area of transparent laws, shall apply to the owner of the land, wastelands, where there are security risks, continue to improve the area. If the breach will be prosecuted immediately.

Policy 4 (CARE) Care the quality of life of citizens. The environment and eco-system by having 6 mission-oriented practice. Tree planting Mission in mind as a science by the King to the vitality of the network parties mangrove planting in bangkhuntien to prevent shoreline erosion. Restoration ecology. Under the public mission Bangkok Special Care for elderly care is special with added speed and convenience for both public health and medical. Recreation and training, career skills, missions, accelerate project Sky Park King Prajadhipok improved roads, bridges, King Prajadhipok distance of 280 metres, is a garden in the sky. The point of view of the Chao Phraya River. Mission area deteriorated, as "the unity community areas, create good health for life" 1 District 1 community and mission to build academic and scholarly standards equally. On all levels and in every institution.

Policy 5 (COMMON WAYS OF LIVING) Proud of Thailand Foundation is satisfied by having 2 mission aimed at practice. The mission is open source, learn science at King library Bangkok so that individuals learn best to the initiative. Principles for the work, as well as the project due to the initiative of King Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej and the mission organized the crowned Rattanakosin district. The Canal basin, and more street Khao San Road area Tanee. Maharat road and Na Phra Lan road.Bangkok Street Food Brand and

product release promote cultural tourism promoting economic communities on the way of the adequacy.

2. communications to the tourism of Bangkok Governor Communications to travel clear out 90-day period between November 15 to February 15 2559 2560 is as follows:

Arrangement of the Rattanakosin district (walk, learn the history of the city), Rattanakosin district. Distribution and Brand Street Food Bangkok entertainment and activities available to resuscitate the city's spiritual and cultural tourism promotes economic communities on ways of self sufficiency by the Tourism Division, Department of culture, sports and tourism, Bangkok-based conservation and tourism development trajectory enough by targeting to the Rattanakosin promoting cultural tourism. Promoting economic communities on ways of adequacy that are able to collect up to 30 over which path to walk, learn the history of the city, "the original moat, the original Canal Imperial history." this comes one example which can walk and learn the culture themselves. In 1 day, which will learn that Bangkok. There are places in the vicinity. Rattanakosin district activities. A pedestrian to learn historic landmarks, Wang Burapha. Place to learn expressing the culture to promote conservation. Rehabilitation and development of areas with sufficient trajectory approach creatively and sustainably. Under the mission, Rattanakosin district, which is just 2 km – 1 along both sides of the Canal, the original old city historical source. Rattanakosin area is the oldest part of Bangkok. Located by the river, this is where most of Bangkok's main historical attractions are, for example Wat Phra Kaew and Wat Pho. These impressive sights aren't the only things to do in Rattanakosin however, and many of the other sights are within easy walking distance. Archaeological resources, cultural, traditional sources of community wisdom. Sources of food, which is part of the policy trajectory enough 5 (COMMON WAYS OF LIVING.)

The project "Sky Park, King Prajadhipok" improved roads, bridges, King Prajadhipok distance of 280 metres, is a garden in the sky. The point of view of the Chao Phraya River. Bangkok will accelerate, King Prajadhipok's project. Sky Park Improve the roads chongklang, King Prajadhipok's bridge area. Distance of 280 metres, a sky garden with pathways and rest area. Scenic River which begins in the month of June update 2017 Use only 1-year period to improve the bridge to cut off or railway bridge-the bridge between 280 meters wide area, a sky garden on the middle of the Chao Phraya River, the first of its kind in ASEAN. Thonburi area links with coast city by will updates to stable. Add green areas to the public can be. Which citizens or tourists to Bangkok's views more than 180 degrees is a new landmark in Bangkok to provide public services and promote tourism, which is a part of a good quality of life policy 4 (CARE).

To organize those hawkers in the area, Bangkok. Policies to restore the pavement, individuals can easily by remaining confined to allow trade only at the Chinatown area and Khaosan road, Phra Nakorn area because areas such as tourism, trade points with a reputation for development, Bangkok is a tourist spot with quality and Safety Zone area is organized, and health care, which is part of the policy 1 (CLEAN)

The Suppression of offences against the tourists. The case is deceptive and abusive tourists will damage the country's image, Thailand. There is a police officer and Bangkok employs has a group taxi, tuk tuk, motorcycle hire around the Royal Palace. Tourists go to the jewelry shop and salon suites by doing most of the tourists are dissatisfied and brought a complaint against the officers frequently, would like to ask the bus driver services don't take advantage

of tourists. Because Thailand is a country tourist attractions for tourists travelling the most in the world. As a part of policies that 3 security (COMMUNITY)

Conclusion

Communication to the tourism of Bangkok Governor In the featured section, tourism is an activity Rattanakosin district walk, learn the history of the city, which is part of the policy trajectory enough 5 (COMMON WAYS OF LIVING) and King Prajadhipok Sky Park project distance of 280 metres, the floating garden observatory and rest area with beautiful view of the river, which will be the new landmark of Bangkok, which is part of the policy of good quality of life 4 (CARE) policy of Bangkok Governor related to tourism policy 1. Special Mission 5 Instant policy 19 mission pushed immediately shows that the main policy 5 does not have a policy which clearly tourism, but it has fielded an element to tourism development.

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Turning the Industrial City into the City of Humanities Using Historical Heritages

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Abstract
The city has a close relationship with our daily life. The spaces that we routinely use, such as streets, apartments and parks, are a component of the city. Therefore, understanding of the city is a precondition for understanding our present life and looking into the future. As urbanization progressed rapidly, cities in South Korea have been dealt with in terms of 'engineering'. However, with the emergence of various urban problems, the viewpoint of 'engineering' has shown many limits. This study looked at Changwon City at South Korea and tried to find a way to make Changwon into a city of people and culture by using historical resources. In order to consider the Changwon as a 'community of life' rather than to look at it from the viewpoint of 'engineering', this study first looked at the history of Changwon and looked at the background of these historical resources. In addition, this study also proposed a desirable development direction of the city in relation to these historical resources. From a long-term perspective, this study has examined the meaning of cultural heritage in the industrial structure, the role of cultural heritage for city landscape recovery and regional linkage. Through the study, we can see that the old city center and the modern cultural heritage will become important compass in setting the future of Changwon city. And that these resources play a very important role in regenerating the city.

Keywords: City, Humanities, Historical Heritage, Changwon

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Introduction

Located in Gyeongsangnam-do, South Korea, Changwon City was originally created after the three administrative districts, Changwon, Masan and Jinhae were merged into one city. In 2010, after the administrative districts were merged into one, the city named 'Changwon' was born. These three cities formed a very close relationship even before the merger, and Changwon City has faced many changes since the merger.

First, the changes in the industrial structure were the leading force behind the growth of Masan and Changwon. Especially, the decline of the Masan Free Trade Zone, which was a leading force behind Masan's growth, led to the decline of the city. In order to overcome this, an urban renewal project is being put forward with. In Changwon, the National Industrial Complex has been successfully operated so far. However, since the advent of the 4th industry and the sophistication of the industrial structure have emerged as urgent tasks, there is the need to flexibly respond to the effects of this industrial structure in the city. Second, the viewpoints on the cities have been changed. In the past, the growth-oriented urban policies were implemented in terms of efficiency. However, now is the time when management-oriented urban policies need to be implemented such as the ones that put emphasis on saving resource energy, expanding citizen participation, and preserving history and culture. Especially, the need to culturally improve the constitution of Changwon City by putting into use its historical and cultural resources is growing.

For this reason, it has become an important agenda to understand the history and culture, people and society, and spaces and environment of the merged city of Changwon and to survey the prospect of the city. In this regard, this paper intends to examine the practical tasks of changing Changwon as an industrial city into a human and culture centered city and seek to discover desirable solutions to these challenges.

Main Concepts of Urban Humanities

In this Chapter, we will look at the main concepts for creating humanity cities. One of the concepts of the humanities city is the creative city. Charles Landry defined the creative city as city which has a diversified, sophisticated and internationally oriented cultural industries structure that nurtures and supports a wealth of local and international artistic activity that both are commercial, subsidized and voluntary. Cultural infrastructure plays an important role in the concept of creative city. Another concepts of the humanities city is the making the livable city. There are five fundamental aspects of great, livable cities: robust and complete neighborhoods, accessibility and sustainable mobility, a diverse and resilient local economy, vibrant public spaces, and affordability.

In order for cities to function as an infrastructure capable of implementing cultural infrastructure and self-realization needs, a new urban policy perspective is needed. For example, a policy that contains the identity of a city, a policy that encourage citizens to actively participate in urban policy, and a policy pursues long-term value rather than short-term value is needed. Based on the concept of humanity city, the next chapter will examine concrete strategy using Changwon city as a case study.

Changwon as the Industrial City

On July 1 this year, United Changwon City was launched through unity of three different cities, Changwon, Masan and Jinhae. These three cities decided to integrate into united city to relieve the decentralization of individual cities and the improvement of administrative efficiency. Most of all, since these three cities were in a form of conurbation, such an integration seems to have large effect on the decentralization and urban growth.

Figure 1: Location of Three Cities

Among the original three regions of the merged city of Changwon, Changwon has a long history with its name derived from the merge of Uichang and Hoewon in 1408. After the establishment of the Republic of Korea, Changwon City was reborn as a representative industrial city. Changwon National Industrial Complex was created in Changwon City beginning in 1974, when the government selected Changwon City as an industrial city as part of the policy of fostering heavy chemical industry. As the hosting city of the industrial complex, Changwon has been developed as a planned city since 1973 and an urban project was established modeling after Canberra in Australia. The Changwon National Industrial Complex has grown from the cradle of the Korean machinery industry among the heavy industry-led industries to a world-class machinery industrial complex.

In the meantime, Masan was raised to the status of a Bu in 1910 under the Japanese colonial rule, and its function as an international trade port was resurrected after being designated as an open port. In the 1970s, the Masan Free Trade Zone was established. It was the industrial complex, the first ever established in Korea in January 1970 under the "Export Free Zone Act". It achieved a rapid growth in the 1970s thanks to the government's strong export drive policy. As a result, the economy of Masan flourished through the development of free trade zone in the 1980s and early 1990s, and the business activities in the downtown areas of Chang-dong and Ohdong-dong also prospered. However, its volume of exports dropped to $1,463 million in 1991 due to the growth of neighboring city Changwon and labor disputes since 1988. As a result, the number of employees in the complex decreased from 36,000 in 1987 to 19,000 in the end of 1991. Consequently, the urban regeneration of Masan has become a very important issue.

Figure 2: Urban Development Plan of Changwon

Figure 3: 1980's Scenery of Masan Free Export Zone

Jinhae City was originally built in 1912 for the Japanese military purpose and later used as a naval base in the Korean War. It has now become the central base for the ROK Navy. Famous for the port city and the cherry blossom festival, the city is also an area where the business activities of the multinational companies are expected to thrive after its being designated as the Busan-Jinhae Free Economic Zone. The city as well is having its old downtown areas declining due to the development of new towns. However, since its old downtown areas were built during the Japanese colonial period, the city has many modern cultural heritages built during those days. Therefore there is a growing need to effectively utilize these resources to contribute to the revitalization of the city.

Figure 4: Jinhae Town under the Japanese Colonial Period

Restoration of Changwoneupseong Fortress and Its Connection with the Surrounding Areas

Changwoneupseong Fortress, which is 1.2km in circumference, was constructed with four gates in the four cardinal directions, a well, a fortress. a battlement, and a moat, most of which have been so damaged and it is hard to find their traces. It was originally a castle surrounding Changhwon Dohobu, and its construction was completed in 1477 to fight against the invasion from the Japanese raiders. However, today's most of Changwoneupseong Fortress has been so damaged that it is impossible to find its traces. Changwon City planned to restore of Dongmunji of Changwonupseong Fortress in 2007 with a view to restoring the old Eupseong Fortress and creating a symbolic space representing Changwon in the Joseon Dynasty period. However, with the merger of Changwon City, the restoration of Eupseong Fortress has gradually been pushed off the policy priorities. As a result, there has been no particular progress so far except for the purchase of a few private houses around Dongmunji.

Figure 5: Changwon Eupseong Dongmun Area Restoration Plan

Figure 6: Dongmun Area Restoration Strategy for the Connection to the Surrounding Area

The restoration of Changwoneupseong Fortress can play a very important role in restoring the history of Changwon. Therefore, there is the need to implement the restoration policy in connection with the surrounding areas from a long-term perspective. The restoration site of the Dongmunji and the Changwon Confucian School are located very close to each other with a distance of only 100 meters. Therefore, the following tasks for linking then to the surrounding area can be considered. First, there is the need to make Uian Street, which links the two areas, into a history street by applying public design techniques. In addition, there is the need to review an additional project to expand Eupseong Fortress to the north side of Dongmunji so that it can be linked to Changwon Confucian School. A community space for local residents and visitors can be created through the creation of the upper deck in the surrounding parking lot and in the other usable areas.

Meanwhile, a long-term restoration master plan needs to be established for Seomunji, Bukmunji, and Namunji. Restoration strategies are needed since it is virtually impossible to restore all parts of Euseong Fortress. In terms of dots, the four gates need to be restored step by step. In terms of lines, the street linking the gates needs to be made into a history street. In terms of planes, the traditional markets, the schools, and the public facilities within the Eupsong Fortress area need to be made into the places for experiencing history. A storytelling technique using historical and cultural resources such as Kim Jong-young's birthplace in the neighborhood needs to be applied, and street-centered restoration and urban regeneration should be considered to request financial support from the central government. As one example related to this project, there is the Gamyeong Street development project in Chungju City, which is a project to restore the area in front of the Kwanhua Park in Chungju Eupseong area, where a provincial office was located in the Joseon Dynasty period, into a place alive with history and culture. With the support of 300 million won from the government, the signboards and public facilities on the roadside were improved with traditional designs, and Byeokcheon Fountain and the parks were built. Another example is the Culture and History Street Project in Incheon City. The street is in front of Incheon Jung-gu Office, where there were many Chinese and Japanese residents in the opening port era. The area has recently emerged as a tourist destination by preserving the Chinese houses and the buildings from the late period of Joseon Dynasty and rearranging the surrounding streets.

Figure 7: Chungju Gyungyoung street development project(Left) and Incheon City History and Culture Street Project(Right)

Changdong Old City Center and Urban Regeneration

Masan flourished through the development of free trade zone in the 1980s and early 1990s, and the business activities in the downtown areas of Chang-dong and Ohdong-dong also prospered. However, after the late 1980s, the city began to experience an urban decline due to its industrial decline. Today, the urban regeneration of Masan using cultural resources has become a very important issue.

Chang-dong, which corresponds to the downtown area of Masan, was the place where a tribute granary (Masan Granary) was located in the Joseon Dynasty period and has a high historical value. With the establishment of Masan Granary, the official residences and private houses were formed in its neighborhood, and it naturally became the center of Masan Port.

Figure 8: Historic Site of Masan Jo-Chang

As the trade became active, Masan Port became the foundation for Masan City. In order to prevent the urban decline, Masan City has been implemented urban regeneration projects mainly in the Chang-dong and Ohdong-dong area. As a part of the government research and development project, a research was conducted with Changwon as a test-bed from 2011 through 2013, and as a result, Chang-dong Art Village was created utilizing the 70 vacant stores in an alley. Chang-dong Art Village was designed to be restored as a place of historical meanings that leads the way in reviving Chang-dong Street in Masan, to be recreated as a meeting place for people, and to be created as a community zone for new creative activities of local residents to begin.

The urban renewal project for Chang-dong is still in progress. Conflicts often arise between the residents of the art villages and the local government. The creation of the Art Village in Chang-don itself cannot automatically guarantee the urban

regeneration. There is still a lot of misconception that with the help of the Bilbao effect, the creation of beautiful buildings and facilities is all about the urban regeneration. The genuine effects of the urban regeneration require several principles. First, the urban regeneration should be led by the local residents. The project should proceed in the way that the local community and citizens work together to beautify the city. Second, they should not be obsessed with short-term outcomes. An urban regeneration is a task which takes a very long time and thus, should be proceeded from a long-term perspective. Third, it requires various projects to be linked. No matter how many efforts are invested in beautifying individual buildings and urban spaces, it is difficult to provide vitality to the city with no connection with the surrounding areas. The buildings and urban spaces of excellent designs are still important, but the city-level maintenance that supports them is needed more than anything else.
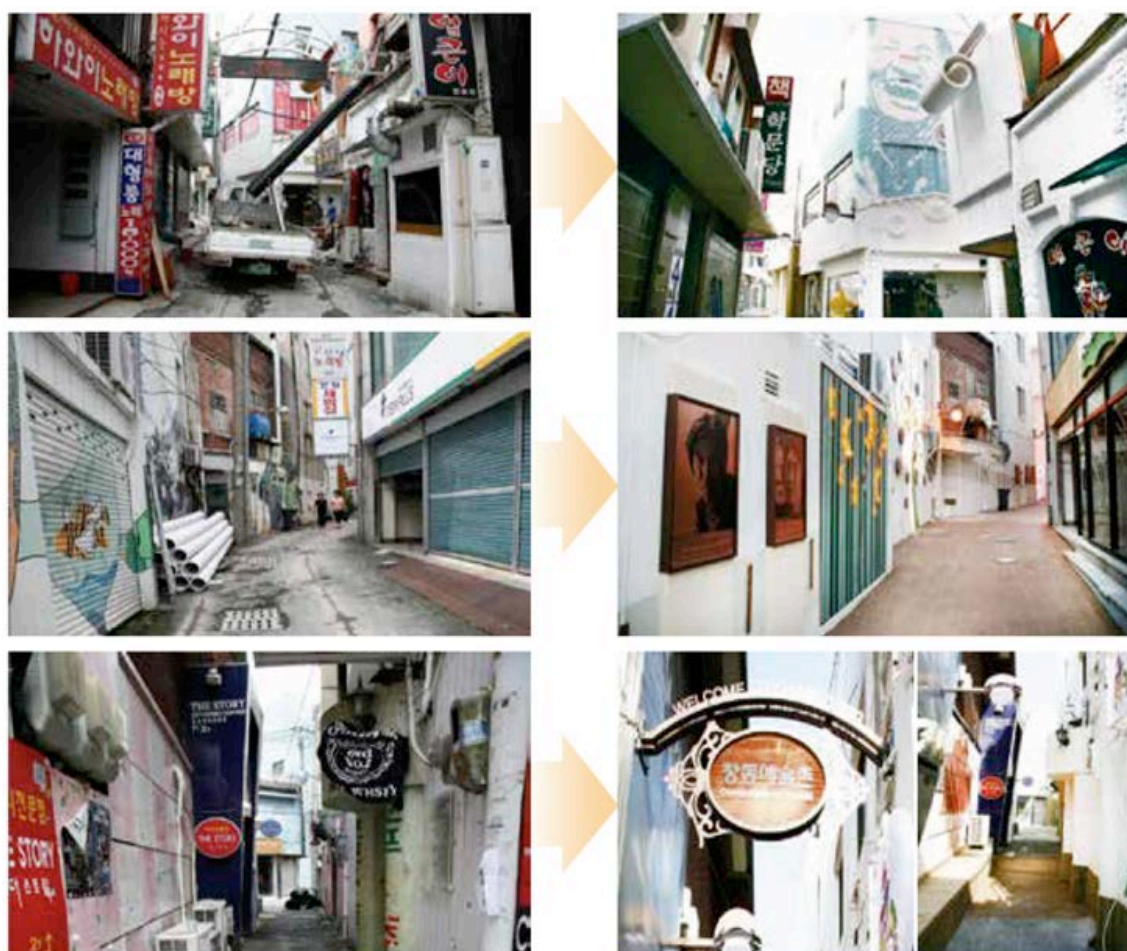
Figure 9: Before(Left) and After(Right) of Changdong Urban Regeneration

Planned City Jinhae and Modern Cultural Heritage

In 1905, the Japanese Empire made an urban plan to develop the Jinhae Bay into the largest naval port in Asia to serve as a bridgehead for continental invasion. The project of creating Jinhae Naval Port was begun in 1912 and completed in 1920. As the urban structure, the radial horizontal street structure with the Bukwon Rotary, the Joongwon Rotary, and the Namwon Rotary as axises was selected. The Joongwon

Rotary is the central axe in the urban structure of Jinhae and located in the upper center of the figure below.

Figure 10: Jinhae Urban Development Plan(Left) and Present Jinhae City(Right)

As Jinhae was established as a planned city during the Japanese colonial period, the city still has some modern cultural heritages. Modern Cultural Heritages are not designated cultural properties, but the ones among the buildings or facilities formed in the modern era and worthwhile to commemorate that particularly require measures for their preservation and utilization. In addition, they are cultural heritages that had been built until before and after the Korean War from the period of enlightenment. Changwon has some valuable modern cultural heritages of usage values, which are concentrated in the Jinhae area. Among them, the buildings shown in the following figure have been well preserved. However, it is hard to utilize them since they are in the military base.

Figure 11: Jinhae Provincial Command Buildings

There are many buildings in the new towns of Jinhae City that are not as well-preserved as those above but convey the atmosphere of the period of the Japanese colonial rule. Since these buildings are concentrated around Joongwon Rotary and already used as restaurants, they have high values for urban purposes.

Figure 12: Jinhae Black & White Coffee Shop

In the case that cultural heritages maintain not only their original appearances but also their original functions, it is best for them to be able to play a role in the cities with these original functions. However, in the case that they have lost their original functions except for their buildings, the preservation-centered policies are needed for the preservation of their original forms since they possess excellent academic or historic values. Especially, it is because once the cultural heritages of the city are utilized, it is almost impossible to recover them in their original forms or their original values. However, the modern cultural heritages contribute more to local revitalization

or urban regeneration when used in the urban contexts rather than when merely preserved. Currently, in Jinhae, there are some committees consisting of local residents and experts, providing many suggestions for local development. Long-term strategies are needed in the future to use modern cultural heritages and to bring vitality to the ancient city of Jinhae. It is also possible to preserve the urban heritages and use them as the elements of the local images. In order to do this, it is necessary to conceive the ways to link them to the production system such as local industries.

Conclusion

This study looked at Changwon City at South Korea and tried to find a way to make Changwon into a city of people and culture by using historical resources. In order to consider the Changwon as a 'community of life' rather than to look at it from the viewpoint of 'engineering', this study first looked at the history of Changwon and looked at the background of these historical resources. In addition, this study also proposed a desirable development direction of the city in relation to these historical resources.

From a long-term perspective, this study has examined the meaning of cultural heritage in the industrial structure, the role of cultural heritage for city landscape recovery and regional linkage. Through the study, we can see that the old city center and the modern cultural heritage will become important compass in setting the future of Changwon city. And that these resources play a very important role in regenerating the city.

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SkypeLab: the City as Urbaness

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The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2017
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

SkypeLab: the city as urbaness presents the concept of "urbaness" proposed in Dr Maggie McCormick's doctoral research titled *The Transient City* (2009) as the contemporary form of urban consciousness that is re defining perceptions of the city and the urban self within rapid urbanization and digitalization. This is demonstrated through the research project *SkypeLab* that investigates and maps urban perception mediated through digital screens. Beginning with Denis Cosgove's position in *Carto-City* (2006) that the city and its mapping are inseparable and as their relationship changes each is transformed, the paper traces from city to urbaness. It is argued that a new urban lexicon is still emerging and this is in part a visual language. *SkypeLab's* contemporary art and design practice employs a methodology shaped by ephemeral and transient urban experience. The process and outcomes enhance understanding of the new cartography of the city as contemporary urban space defined and mediated by digital screens. *SkypeLab* was initiated by Dr Maggie McCormick, RMIT University, Australia and Prof. Henning Eichinger, Reutlingen University, Germany in 2012 as an ever expanding urban network. This Australia/German project expanded to Asia 2014/2015 to include East China Normal University, Shanghai, China. In 2017/2018 *SkypeLab* added the The Federal University, Rio De Janeiro, Brazil and the University of Atlantico, Barranquilla, Colombia to its network. By 2018 there will have been some 70 participants in the *SkypeLab* urban network. A *SkypeLab SympoLab* will take place at RMIT Europe in Barcelona in 2018.

Keywords: Urban consciousness, digital screen mediation, urban lexicon and mapping.

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Introduction to paper

SkypeLab: the city as urbaness addresses the impact of digital screen mediation on redefining the meaning of 'city' and 'being urban'. The concept of 'urbaness' is presented as the contemporary form of urban consciousness shaping perceptions of the 'city' and the 'urban self' within rapid urbanization and digitalization. Building on Denis Cosgove's concept in *Carto-City* (2006) that the city and its mapping are inseparable and as their relationship changes, each is transformed, the paper traces urban consciousness from understandings of 'city' as separate spaces to concepts of 'urbaness'. It is argued that a new urban lexicon is emerging that is in part visual. These ideas are mapped through the research project *SkypeLab*. *SkypeLab* that employs a practice led methodology shaped by ephemeral and transient urban experience. The research process and mapping outcomes enhance understanding of the new urban cartography.

Paper

SkypeLab was jointly initiated by myself, Dr Maggie McCormick (RMIT University, Australia) and Prof. Henning Eichinger (Reutlingen University, Germany) in 2012. The project grew out of conversations between Henning Eichinger and myself, about our observations of the increasing use of screens, by our respective art in public space and design students. Our interest was not on digital art as such. Rather, questions arose about the impact of 'seeing' and 'knowing' through screens. Questions, about the impact of connecting across this contiguous urban digital public space on urban perception. Questions, about how art and design practice might interpret and map this space. We wondered what role the hand, and the body, still played in an urbanized and digitalized world. To enquire into these questions, *SkypeLab* has been undertaken as a series of research laboratories within increasingly expanding networks across universities and cities, as well as disciplines and mediums. Within long timeframes and geographical distances, *SkypeLab* purposefully brings together differing urban time zones, seasons and cultures, mediated through digital screens, where all are collapsed into a common urban space – a common 'city' if you like. Through the interconnection between art and design practice, public space, and digital technology, this practice-led research aims to develop new insights, and new ways of building on contemporary urban knowledge. *SkypeLab* that began as an Australia/German project, expanded to Asia 2014/2015 to include East China Normal University, Shanghai, China. In 2017/2018 *SkypeLab* added the The Federal University, Rio De Janeiro, Brazil and the University of Atlantico, Barranquilla, Colombia to its network. Emerging from this research – a *SkypeLab SympoLab* will take place at RMIT Europe in Barcelona in 2018.

In this paper the contextural framework that shaped the *SkypeLab* research is addressed. First by asking: What is a city? How has the conceptual understanding of 'city' changed over time, with the rapid increase in urbanization and digitalization? Next, by examining what language is evolving to describe this phenomenon. What is the new urban lexicon, and what role does the language of art and design play? Finally, by looking at the cartography of urbaness, emerging out of the interconnection between new urban concepts and its mapping, in particular through the practice and outcomes of the *SkypeLab* project.

The often-quoted question posed by Lewis Mumford (2011), 'What is a City?' first posed in 1937, is today a far more complex question. Mumford was an American historian and sociologist, particularly know for his study of cities. While Mumford's view of the city as a theatre of social action, recognized the city as more than a constructed, physical space, he could not have envisioned the complex action, and interaction, of urban and digital networks, that are experienced by today's societies. Mumford's thinking was framed at a time when the idea of the modern city was emerging. Other urban concepts were yet to come. Among them was the idea of the 'Megalopolis' or urban cluster or corridor, posed in the 1960s by urban geographer, Jean Gottmann (1961) that linked regionally connected cities, such as BosWash (Boston and Washington). Later this concept was extended to connect urban spaces, within the economic zone of the Pearl River Delta in China, reflecting in part a changing emphasis in urban research from expanding cities of Europe to those of Asia. This in itself reflects the rapid growth in urbanization across the planet.

Sociologist, Saskia Sassen (1991) coined the term 'Global City' in the early nineties recognizing the connection between the three mega cities of New York, London and Tokyo. She observed that the flight between New York and London, is one of the world's most heavily used connection routes, so it is not surprising to find that New York and London might have more in common with each other, than with other cities in the United States of America or the United Kingdom. For some, such journeys between cities are as much the city, as the two cities themselves. Gottmann's concept of BosWash (Boston/Washington) can now be extended to NyLon (New York/London). Going one step further in the conceptualization of the 'city', the AMO Atlas published in *Content* (2004), aims to snap shot the world in transition. Devised by architect and urban thinker Rem Koolhaas, and others from OMA Office of Metropolitan Architecture, it does this through visualizing data, to record physical and non-physical, interconnected, global information and trends, that link cities across the world. From McDonald outlets to Chinatowns, the *AMO Atlas* records diverse urban connections, from commercial expansion to cultural dispersions. The AMO Atlas exemplifies the text 'World = City' that appears on the back cover of another of Koolhaas's publications, on the project, *Mutations: Harvard project on the city* (2001). This project explored understanding the city well beyond its concrete manifestations in relation to 'what used to be the city' (2001: 19). Here definitions of the 'city' can be seen as shaped by a collision of urbanization and digitalization - what Koolhaas refers to as 'City of Exacerbated Difference (COED)', a copyrighted term he devised through the Harvard Project. While it describes the urban condition of the Pearl River Delta in China in particular, it can also be applied to our new urban condition more broadly. This is a condition of transience and paradox. In the early 1960s, Marshall McLuhan had already begun to observe the urban/digital collision, but also the collective identity, emerging out of what he described as pervasive electronic media. He coined the term 'Global Village' to describe what was happening. The two words do not belong together. To 'lose sight of the strangeness of these terms, speaks to an acclimatization' (Wark 2012: 27)) to new thinking about the world we live in. If we ask Mumford's question again—'What is a city?' - in today's context, the answer may be in another question. What is urbaness (McCormick 2009: 30)?

In my PhD thesis 2009, titled *The Transient City*, undertaken at the University of Melbourne, I define 'urbaness' as a specific state of urban consciousness, shaped by

transience between, and compression of, space, time and difference, where all are perceived as the norm. Forms of urban consciousness are as old as cities themselves, with concepts of transience and compression, embedded in the trains, cars and planes, that increasingly diminished the distance and time, between and within, cities and people. The difference now, is not only the speed at which this takes place, but also an 'understanding of the increased mind mobility' (McCormick 2013:117) and the concept that one is 'born urban, born transient' (McCormick 2009: 17), in both body and mind, as a contemporary life experience. Instantaneous satellite connection, means we can be simultaneously in many places and time zones. Urban experience is both seen and unseen, within a cacophony of layered, fragmented, transient alignments, across multiple screens.

What language have we developed to express this urban experience? In the 1990s, William J Mitchell described the digital city, using familiar city terms like 'digital highway'. While such language helped us to understand this space, new terms have now entered our vocabulary, to explain this phenomenon more fully. In a digitally connected urban world, we now understand urban perception and experience within the framework of such concepts as Manuel Castells 'space of flows' (1996) and Zygmunt Bauman's 'liquid times' (2000). Shaped by these contexts that compress time and space, cities have transformed into sites of what Saskia Sassen called 'cityness' (2005: 1). All are examples of what McKenzie Wark describes as 'telesthesia', where information and ideas move faster than people or things between spaces, 'to bring what is distant near, and make what is distant a site of action' (2012). This is the space of urbaness.

What is the cartography of urbaness? What role might the language of art and design play in deciphering and mapping this new cityscape of the mind? Carto-City is the title of Denis Cosgrove's chapter in *Else/Where: Mapping – New Cartographies of Networks and Territories* (Abrams and Hall 2006). Cosgrove concludes with the statement, 'Urban space and cartographic space remain inseparable; as each is transformed, their relationship alters' (2006). In our contemporary situation, Cosgrove's conclusion reminds us of the necessity to grow our knowledge about the changing understanding of what a city is, and how this might be recorded. Our understanding of what it means to be urban, is embedded in paradox and mediated through screens, while cartography itself, is dominated by screens. GIS (geographic information systems) are designed to capture, analyse and present all manner of spatial or geographical data, resulting in Google Maps and GPS global positioning systems, offering real time navigation. Mobile, iPad and computer screens, convey this information to us. We 'see' the new conceptual city, through the metaphor of screens.

Paradox and and metaphor, are the territory of art and its specific mode of research and mapping. The practice of *SkypeLab* is witness to transience, to Castell's urban 'space of flows', Bauman's 'liquid times' and Wark's 'telesthesia', first hand. In this context, Henning Eichinger and myself, designed a research practice, that employs a methodology, shaped by ephemeral and transient urban experience, mediated by digital screens. In the process it contributes to a visual urban lexicon, that expands our capacity to express our experience of this new cityscape. Our interest in how difference plays out in this space as well our interest in the role of the hand in a digital space, led us to invite German, Australian, Chinese and South American artists, who

had not met previously, to work in pairs. They undertook Blind Contour Drawing sessions via Skype, over periods of several months. The technique involves looking at your partner on the screen, and drawing with one continuous line, reminiscent of cartographic contour lines. While Blind Contour Drawing was originally conceived as an innovative drawing teaching technique in the 1940s (Nicolaîdes 1941) and was later adapted by Betty Edwards in her book *Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain* (1979) – here in *SkypeLab* it is transformed into a research tool. A tool for investigating urban ephemera, mediated by digital screens, while also exploring the role of the hand in our digital world. The methodology, as employed by us, favours the juxtaposition of difference (including culture and language), long time frames, and geographical distance. While in more traditional cartography, contour lines indicate the shape of the earth's surface, here contour lines record the connection between complete strangers. They look directly at each other through the screen, at much closer distances than the usual physical encounter, and yet separated by distance, time and culture. Here perception is transformed, as it responds to paradox, through frozen moments and fluidity, distance and nearness, connection and disconnection, hand and brain, light and dark, clarity and loss of detail, confidence and awkwardness, limitation and possibility, amidst a myriad of other apparent contradictions. Paradoxical fragments, become everyday framing of how knowledge is formed, and how perceptions are created and experience recorded. Drawing via the 'Skype screen interface reinforces the idea, that when we draw we mirror ourselves, as much as the other, and in the process we redefine ourselves' (McCormick 2013) as mapmaker and the map itself.

Labs to date have created an urban network between universities in the cities of Reutlingen, Melbourne, Shanghai, Rio De Janeiro, Barranquilla and now Barcelona. *SkypeLab* is undertaken in collaboration with the Goethe Institutes in Australia and China and funded through the Baden-Württemberg in Germany. *SkypeLab* was also awarded a research and teaching award. Over 2012 to 2017, the mapmaking evolving out of this research process has taken multiple forms. These include street projections, street performance, public space interventions, exhibitions and online presence at ARTE Creative TV France/Germany and www.skypelab.org An exhibition at the Städtische Galerie, Reutlingen in Germany 2016 was the most recent outcome. The most recent engagement has been between universities in cities in Germany/Brazil and Melbourne/Colombia. To date there have been two associated publications edited by myself and Henning Eichinger: *SkypeLab: Transcontinental Faces and Spaces* (2016) Germany: Kerber Publications and *Skypetrait: Transcontinental Faces* (2013). Reutlingen, Germany: Stat Reutlingen.

Conclusion

This paper, *SkypeLab: the city as urbaness*, addressed the impact of the mediation through digital screens on redefining the meaning of 'city' and 'being urban'. Rather than viewing cities as separate spaces, the concept of 'urbaness' posed the idea of 'being urban' within perceptions of the city as a state of consciousness. The need for a new urban lexicon and new ways of mapping this new 'city' have been discussed through the research project *SkypeLab*. Through its experimental approach within digital space, *SkypeLab* poses and exposes questions arising out of the practice, about urban space itself. As we look into this new mind space of urbaness, *SkypeLab* asks: How do the layers, reflections and fragmentations of `seeing' and encountering each

other via digital screen space and time, inform our urban perceptions? The research process and mapping outcomes enhance understanding of this new urban cartography. *SkypeLab* contributes valuable knowledge to an understanding of new conceptual territory, within a profoundly changing urbanscape, that reflects the inseparable relationship between urban space and cartographic space in the process of mapping of urbaness.

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Relations between Gentrification, Hospitality and Tourism: Illustrating Change in Amsterdam

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The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2017
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Working class areas close to city centres can transform into middle and higher-class areas, referring gentrification. Wealthier residents move into these areas since there is a new interest in urban living and because these neighbourhoods offer cheaper accommodations. Residents interested in settling within these cheaper neighbourhoods can still benefit from urban facilities, services, and closeness to the city centre as well as to relatives. As a consequence, investments in these areas can be made, which might result in improved housing, retail, services, facilities and neighbourhood image, but also in possible displacement of original residents and entrepreneurs because costs of living may rise. The hospitality sector plays a key role in producing and reproducing the vibe of a particular neighbourhood, therewith contributing to the appeal and image of a certain district. The sector is a space in which food, beverage, music, decoration and atmosphere are agencies of tastes and lifestyles. The cultural diversity existing in a neighbourhood, reflected in a variation of residents and businesses, can attract visitors and new residents, but eventually tourists. These tourists could increasingly pay a visit to these neighbourhoods, as fostered by promotion, and even settle there and become a resident. This longitudinal study compares possible signs of gentrification in two Amsterdam neighbourhoods. Resulting from interviews and observations in 2010, 2015 and 2017, change in these two districts is illustrated and discussed.

Key words: gentrification, hospitality, tourism, longitudinal study

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Introduction

Inner city neighbourhoods are constantly changing. While different people come and go to live in these neighbourhoods, their facilities and services could also change. Changing consumption spaces, as hospitality establishments for example, could influence the neighbourhood's image and start attracting not only new residents but also visitors. The objective of this study is to explore how change in two neighbourhoods in Amsterdam can be illustrated in a way that relates gentrification to hospitality and tourism. In doing so, it will first introduce gentrification, briefly touching on its drivers and consequences, followed by a discussion of theories relating gentrification to hospitality and tourism. An exploratory, longitudinal study has been designed and executed to show change over time. In doing so, it takes data collected during a research in 2011 as baseline and add data from 2015 and 2017. Data collected in 2011 show gentrification characteristics for two neighbourhoods, data in 2015 show how it has changed ever since, whereas data collected in 2017 also focused on the integration of tourism.

Gentrification

Although there are many views, perspectives and definitions on gentrification, it can be understood as the social upgrading of poorer inner-city neighbourhoods. In this study, Sullivan (2007) is followed, who defines gentrification as a process by which wealthier residents move into poorer neighbourhoods in sufficient numbers to change the identities of neighbourhoods as well as their social class compositions. The incoming of mid- and higher classes into former working class areas downtown result in transformations of cheap and bad maintained (rented) houses and facilities into expensive, comfortable (owned) houses (Van Dijk, 2004). There are certain dimensions that appear throughout different gentrification definitions. When considering the types of neighbourhoods that have the potential to be gentrified it is agreed they have to be central city neighbourhoods, populated by low-income households. Considering the process of gentrification, Freeman (2005) argues that the arrival of gentry should be first, followed by an increase in investment second. Geurtz (2006) indicates that groups entering a neighbourhood with a potential to gentrify have higher cultural capital rather than economic capital; they are not investors, but students and artists. Later, traditional groups of the middle class will also enter the area, from which most persons are still relatively young. Besides students and artists, incomers are mostly yups, single earners, and couples without kids: They all want to work in the city since that meets their lifestyles, but they also want to be close to their jobs in IT, cultural and media sectors. The term 'lifestyle' comes into play since residents want to live somewhere that matches their way of living (van Dijk, 2004). These groups trigger the gentrification process and are the ones that maintain the process (Geurtz, 2006).

Changing neighbourhoods

Looking at the characteristics of the gentrifiers, it is clear that they are of a higher socioeconomic status and more likely to be white (Freeman, 2005). The process of neighbourhood change associated with gentrification and revitalization is more related to displacement but it are the ones who move into a neighbourhood that appear to be more important in explaining the change (Freeman, 2005). The large differences

between in movers and original residents influences the development within the neighbourhood. From the seventies on several studies examined the characteristics of the households that moved into gentrifying areas. Geographically, it can be said most gentrifiers have lived in the same city already; they move from another area in the city to a neighbourhood that has gentrification potential. The composition of the household often differs from the conventional lower and middle class family regarding the official state and the amount of family members as gentrifiers are often childless (van Dijk, 2004). Original residents can welcome gentrification since it can result in improved services and facilities of the area. When a historically poor neighbourhood is gentrifying it generally results in improvements of municipal services and increase in the number of retail establishments (Sullivan, 2007). However, it is argued that the improvements and increases should not be at the cost of diversity, as generating and embracing this diversity would be the key to make neighbourhoods successful again. For this reason, it is important original residents are not displaced but stay in the area so they will contribute, together with the gentrifiers, to a diverse composition (Bosscher, 2007). The improvements noticed in gentrifying neighbourhoods are attracting residents and investors, but also visitors and increasingly; scholars. Perhaps researching gentrification is indeed just an excuse to hang out in cool neighbourhoods to drink lattes (Slater, 2006). Slater (2006) does, however, remarks a change of scholars' research directions from first being about rent increases, working-class displacement and landlord harassment to now street-level spectacles, gadgets, trendy bars and cafés, social diversity and stores selling funky clothes.

Although the term gentrification still remains a bit of a bad word, the image of hip, cool and art tribes taking over the cafés, cycle paths and art galleries of formerly disinvested neighbourhoods that once lacked creativity is now seen as the sign of future for cities around the globe and represents a healthy economic position (Slater, 2006). In addition, the media buzz surrounding gentrifying neighbourhoods brings large numbers of visitors (Zukin, 2008). Resulting is that traditional retail businesses might become replaced by larger chain stores since these can pay the higher rental prices resulting from increased neighbourhood popularity. Consumption spaces therefore change in parallel to gentrification processes (Zukin, 2008), whereas traditional cities in general are increasingly witnessing the importance for their city to be an entertaining consumption space. The entertainment sector in cities is defined as a sector that combines tourism, restaurants, hotels, conventions and related economic activities (Lloyd and Clark, 2001). While many of gentrifying areas do lack tourist hotel accommodation and major visitor attractions they do contain urban heritage and consumption experiences not provided by mainstream city venues (Smith, 2007) but just as the retail sector, gentrification could cause a change of entertainment as well.

Changing entertainment

For a city to be attractive, hotels, bars, and restaurants have to be sufficiently diversified and offer value for money (Russo & van der Borg, 2002). The commercial hospitality sector could be identified as being a vital place in which taste and lifestyle are produced and consumed through food and drink, ambience, service style, and music and décor (Bell, 2007). Just as shops, public spaces and music venues are important, it is believed restaurants, bars and cafés are a key player in producing and reproducing the 'feel' or 'buzz' of a particular destination and in keeping the specific

area 'hip', and with that effectively incorporating food, drink and entertainment into urban culture (Bell, 2007). Eating out has become a central part of city's experience economy could be replaced by 'foodatainment' to emphasize it entails so much more than just eating, just as 'drinkatainment' refers to the production of themed bars and pubs as well as other 'drinking experiences'. In Bell's eyes *'both foodatainment and drinkatainment have become cornerstones of the urban regeneration script, which increasingly emphasizes the value of the night-time and visitor economies to cities seeking to improve their fortunes'* (Bell, 2007:13). The hospitality industry could easily be linked to new urban living. Urban residents occupying jobs in post-Fordist sectors have a regained interest in urban living (Smith, 2007) and see the city more than just a destination for work; particularly the young workers believe the city is a desirable place to live and play.

The influx of young gentrifiers in working-class and ethnic districts can result in changes of the local supply of the hospitality industry: the changes might eventually result in the production of new landscapes of trendy consumption. Gentrifiers are not much interested in local schools and churches, but more with recreation opportunities and consumption in hip restaurants, shops, bars and boutiques situated in restructured urban neighbourhoods (Lloyd & Clark, 2001). The people attracted to these districts follow a lifestyle where work and ideas, as well as friendships are pursued in bars, restaurants, clubs, venues, and galleries (Montgomery, 1995). New hospitality spaces are developed in efforts to meet this demand. While places to eat and drink play central roles in the production of new city living forms associated with district revitalization, they also stimulate forms of cultural tourism, including for example 'party tourism' or 'alco-tourism' (Bell, 2007). City center living is increasingly packaged and sold in terms of access to consumption, cultural, and leisure amenities, not only to residents but also to visitors. Eating and drinking have become important components of regenerating neighbourhoods but could also make these places new 'gastro-tourism' destinations (Bell, 2007). Already in 1991, Zukin also saw the parallel between the processes of gentrification and the rise of nouvelle cuisine, as she argued then that gastronomy suggests a consumption organization quite similar in structure to the 'deep palate' of gentrification. According to her, it seems new urban communities are formed on the basis of consumption practices while earlier they were formed on old divisions of ethnicity or social class (Zukin, 2008).

Not only new retail sectors but also hospitality establishments can be too expensive for long-time residents and are meant for the gentrifiers' tastes. Original residents could not patronize the developments and even may feel resentment toward them (Sullivan, 2007). Earlier providers of food and drink like downtown cafeterias, might be chased out (Bell, 2007). The reimaging of places as landscapes of consumption may thus lead to displacing small businesses and low-rent residents (Shaw et al., 2004). In relating this to tourism, Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska (2004) point to Disneyfied 'Latin Quarters' and in which its visitors might be more wealthy than the local population. The tourist consumption spaces in these quarters might contribute then to tensions between host and visitor differences in race, ethnical background and social classes, instead of being a local impulse.

Tourism gentrification

Maintaining mixed social, economic and temporal activities in gentrifying or gentrified neighbourhoods requires a detailed understanding in terms of what does and does not work, and how local amenities and quality of life should be protected (Smith, 2007). Whereas the hospitality industry can be seen as an important basic condition for the livability for residents, it could also attract visitors and tourists. Since eating and drinking out has increased the last years and hospitality businesses are often considered to be a second living room, a visit to a hospitality establishments often forms a part of a day of shopping, or for instance cultural and urban tourism. The process of middle-class neighbourhoods transforming into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues refers to 'tourism gentrification' (Gotham, 2005). The commercial upgrading changing the consumption facilities in neighbourhoods that are increasingly attracting visitors relates to commercial gentrification, therewith part of a broader process of symbolic gentrification (Gant, 2015). Agents of change in these revitalization processes are not the new middle class residents as introduced above, but the new spaces and services attracting both them and tourists. By becoming an appealing neighbourhood to visit, rental flats could be transformed into holiday apartments. In this way, tourism could be seen as an additional displacement driver as well (Gant, 2015). Gant (2015) does, however, argue that residents are moving out more because of the transformation of uses and users in their neighbourhoods and not just because of housing market dynamics only.

Tourism gentrification is not only commercial, but also residential and reflects new institutional connections between the local institutions, the real estate industry and the global economy (Gotham, 2005). Gentrification and tourism amalgamate with other consumption-oriented activities as dining out, shopping, and visiting concerts. Blurring entertainment, commercial activities and residential spaces leads to an altered relationship between culture and economics in the production and consumption of urban space (Gotham, 2005). This blurring is today even more so the case due to residents letting their apartments to house tourists. In this sense, Sheivachman (2017) argues that any conversation about how tourism works to change neighborhoods would be incomplete without exploring the impact of homesharing services, particularly Airbnb. In both Amsterdam and Barcelona, for example, there were approximately 11.000 Airbnb hosts in July 2017 (Airdna.co, 2017). Gentrification can thus be related to and studied in conjunction with hospitality and tourism. Gotham (2005) even believes that analyzing tourism gentrification provides an important opportunity for theoretical development and offers a unique perspective on tourism and urban redevelopment dynamics.

Study design

Of central focus in this study are two selected neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. The location of the two cases was important since these surroundings had to represent both the process of actual gentrifying and the other to be completely gentrified. The neighbourhood that is gentrifying and in that sense being highly dynamic within the last decade is the 'Indische Buurt' (IB) located in the eastern part of the city. The area's western part is mainly witnessing gentrification processes compared to the eastern part. Specific streets of interest in IB are the Javastraat and its surrounding

ones. The completely gentrified neighbourhood to study is the 'Oude Pijp' (OP), located in the southern part of Amsterdam. Streets of interest in OP are the Albert Cuypstraat and the Ferdinand Bolstraat. The selection of these cases was not random but involved discussions with the spatial planning department of Amsterdam, resulting in a shortlist of several neighbourhoods that were either completely gentrified or being dynamic at this moment.

In the author's 2011 study, the original focus was on perceptions of ethnic hospitality entrepreneurs about their changing neighbourhoods. By means of snowballing, handpicking and contacting many entrepreneurs, data was collected by means of interviewing fourteen ethnic hospitality entrepreneurs, nine Dutch hospitality entrepreneurs, five non-hospitality entrepreneurs, and five non-business interviewees (e.g. governmental actors), all related to these two districts. Questions ranged from asking about hospitality concepts to thoughts about other entrepreneurs, market changes, and the neighbourhood in general. Observations and collecting numbers by the city's statistics office were also included in data collection and analysis. Four years later, in 2015, a student acting as assistant researcher updated the numbers by more recent statistics, observed the neighbourhoods after careful instructions, and interviewed six randomly chosen people on the streets. Two years later, another student acting as research assistant included tourism concepts as offers and branding to her observations, desk research, and interviewing of 14 businesses, 14 residents, and 14 tourists in the two districts.

Insights and relationships

Analysis focused on the perceptions and changes and compared findings over the years. It is by no means the intent to generalize about what is happening within the two selected districts. Instead, thoughts, opinions, observations and possible relations between gentrification, hospitality and tourism are explored and insights shared as interpreted by the author. First, a fact sheet per district has been created showing selected numbers and allowed for comparisons between 2001, 2010 and 2014 (Dienst Onderzoek & Statistiek Amsterdam, 2015). Within IB for example, non-Western foreign inhabitants decreased from 63,2% in 2001 via 55,4% in 2010 to 51,2% in 2014 whereas Western foreigners increased from 4,9% in 2001 via 12,1% in 2010 to 13,3% in 2014. Native Dutch inhabitants increased from 31,9% in 2001 via 32,5% in 2010 to 35,6% in 2014. The ownership of houses moved from 5,2% private possession in 2001 via 17,7% in 2010 to 22,3% in 2014. Public housing decreased from 77,9% in 2001 via 69,5% in 2010 to 64,2% in 2014. Houses also seem to have increased in usable surface: the amount of houses with a usable surface of 40-50 square meters decreased from 31,6% in 2001 via 27,2% in 2010 to 25,1% in 2014. The amount of houses surfacing 50-60 square meters decreased from 23,2% in 2001 via 22,5% in 2010 to 19,9% in 2014. Larger houses, 60-80 sqm, increased from 23,6% in 2001 via 24,7% in 2010 to 25,8% in 2014. Houses with a usable surface of 80 square meters or more increased from 13,8% in 2001 via 18,7% to 22,9% in 2014. In 2001, 11,7% of the district's total residents were employed, a number which increased via 15,3% in 2010 to 18,3% in 2014. While there were 863 businesses registered in the district in 2001, this number increased via 1346 in 2010 to 1945 in 2014.

Looking at these same categories in the more gentrified neighbourhood OP shows the following: The amount of non-Western foreign inhabitants decreased from 25,9% in 2001 via 18,3% in 2010 to 17,0% in 2014. The amount of Western foreigners increased from 13,7% in 2001 via 21,0% in 2010 to 21,6% in 2014. Native Dutch inhabitants increased only slightly from 60,4% in 2001 via 60,7% in 2010 to 61,3% in 2014. The ownership of houses moved from 10,1% private possession in 2001 via 23,3% in 2010 to 25,6% in 2014. Public housing decreased from 32,0% in 2001 via 29,4% in 2010 to 27,4% in 2014. Similar to IB, Houses in the OP also seem to have increased in usable surface: the amount of houses with a usable surface of 40-50 square meters decreased from 23,2% in 2001 via 20,4% in 2010 to 18,9% in 2014. The amount of houses surfacing 50-60 stayed more or less the same with 19,5% in 2001 via 18,5% in 2010 to 19,1% in 2014. Larger houses, 60-80 sqm, increased from 20,2% in 2001 via 22,8% in 2010 to 24,2% in 2014. Houses with a usable surface of 80 square meters or more almost doubled, from 10,3% in 2001 via 16,0% to 19,4% in 2014. Concerning residents employed, the percentage increased from 33,1% in 2001 via 38,4 in 2010 to 38,0 in 2014. In 2010, 1582 businesses were registered in the district, a number that increased via 2228 in 2010 to 2662 in 2014.

Although comparing the two districts seems appealing, one has to bear in mind that both districts have a different historical development background and demographics, and are also different in size and their relative proximity to the city centre. Still, one could see the same patterns arise, for example concerning demographics with non-Western foreign inhabitants moving out, Western foreign inhabitants and native Dutch inhabitants moving in. Also, houses became bigger in both districts and increasingly possessed privately, at the cost of social housing. Economically, percentages of the districts' inhabitants with a job increased, just as the amount of registered businesses. Dynamics of increases and decreases seem generally higher in OP and lower in IB, possibly showing more of a faster pace of gentrification in the IB and a slow or stagnating process in the OP, both in line with case selection criteria and decision. A selection of gathered thoughts and opinions as analysed and interpreted as being relevant to show perceptions on changes within these two districts will now be shared per research period.

In 2011, reactions within the OP district aligned with the indicative numbers and confirmed the notion of a hip, vibrant and implicitly mentioned gentrified district. The IB was more seen as one district developing and becoming a more popular one. One of the interviewees described his view on the district's dynamics in 2011: *"[It is] Developing. A neighborhood with a lot of potential, a vibrant one, one a lot of things are going on, with a lot of energy and dynamics from both the ethnic entrepreneurs as the new entrepreneurs."* An ethnic hospitality entrepreneur noted the shift in demographics, as indicated by statistics, concerning the inhabitants of the IB district, he believes that his guests who lived in the neighborhood increasingly consisted of native Dutch inhabitants: *"The last years mainly Moroccan and Dutch people. They visit us a lot, but there are now more Dutch guests than for instance five years ago."* Another entrepreneur added details and shared: *"Now there are coming more young, new people, and sometimes several tourists from the hostel close by. And people who are moving into the neighborhood of course. Normal people; they are not richer or anything. I also believe we increasingly receive more students and foreigners; expats. Exchange students as well as the Science building is close to here; student housing is realized there."* It was concluded in the study of 2011 that while ethnic hospitality

entrepreneurs in both the Indische Buurt and the Oude Pijp could and were in fact triggering gentrification processes, they were at the same time challenged when these gentrification processes accelerated and property rental prices increased as a result from the districts' raising popularity. This was interpreted as being paradoxical, because the gentrification triggered by cultural diversity did in this sense kill the same cultural diversity. If that happened already or would happen more so in the future, it would be a true shame, according to the interviewees, as it was perceived this exact supply of cultural diversity made the neighborhoods so attractive to visit and live in in the first place.

All of the respondents of the IB district who participated in the 2015 study noted that the neighbourhood of Indische Buurt was still a calmer and more quiet area than other parts of Amsterdam. Interviewees in the Oude Pijp stated that they liked the fact that they were close to main attractions in the city centre, while residents did notice that it got even more crowded in the area during last years. It was indicated in this study that perceptions existed of how both neighbourhoods grew steadily and attracted more people to visit or live there during the past several years. The multiculturality aspect of the Indische Buurt still remained evident in 2015, with still many ethnical businesses operating in the district, as Turkish grocery supermarkets and so-called exotic 'Tokos'. Although these businesses could be found in the Oude Pijp as well, it seems there is a higher offer of organic and sustainable supermarkets as well as more exclusive restaurants versus small lunch rooms and fast food providers in the IB. The Indische Buurt was mainly seen as a place for people searching a nice, quiet area near to the centre, while offering lower rental prices and bigger apartments as compared to more popular districts. Different from Indische Buurt, the Oude Pijp was perceived as a place for people who really wanted to be close to cultural entertainment offers and who searched for a vivid neighbourhood, as well as for those who are financially stable and not afraid of every day crowding.

In 2017, some things have changed and tourists did visit the IB more than a few years earlier. The district, for example, showed impressive Airbnb coverage across the area, namely a total of 694 listings as per 2016 In the OP, a significantly higher Airbnb coverage was evident, namely a total of 1,624 listings. The Indische Buurt still dominates as unique and ethnically diverse. Online coverage presents a concentration of keywords and attention getters such as 'unique', 'ethnically/culturally diverse', 'exotic', 'a cultural mix' and synonyms of such. The online blog *Amsterdamming* describes Indische Buurt as the most vibrant and ethnically diverse neighbourhood in Amsterdam East and one of the most interesting in the entire city. Unlike in the more touristic areas of Amsterdam, where action means crowds and noise, it comes from the rhythm of life of the locals themselves in the case of Indische Buurt. Interviewed local inhabitants of the Indische Buurt mentioned they did not meet a lot of tourist action if any, apart from Javastraat area, the well-known ethnically diverse street filled with shops representing cuisine from all over the world, answering to the question whether there are a lot of tourists in the district, one respondent answered: *"Hard to tell, I don't think tourists hang around much here. Apart from Javastraat maybe."*

Across various online media platforms, the OP appears to be gaining a higher acknowledgment in terms of tourism relevance in recent years. The neighbourhood is often common to be found within various tourist oriented online platforms, marketed

as an individual destination to go to apart from the so common Amsterdam city Centre. It features in many various articles, blog posts as well as travel guides in context of a unique, hip and trendy go-to place for artsy individuals and 'foodies'. Mainly positioned as a multicultural and hip neighbourhood, online coverage presents the suburb as highly trendy, busy and bursting area on constant development. Even tourist tours are offered, emphasizing the district of being a hot spot for amazing food and drink experiences. It seems therefore the Oude Pijp is significantly different from Indische Buurt, in all contexts, life-wise, business-wise as well as tourism-wise. Concerning whether tourists are visiting this district, one respondent argued: *"[Here] it's really international and I think that's why it's becoming more popular for tourists to come. They come a lot."*

Implications

The objective of this study was to explore how change in two neighbourhoods in Amsterdam could be illustrated in a way that relates gentrification to hospitality and tourism. By taking earlier research as a baseline, adding data from more recent years and integrating the tourism industry, it shared illustrations in line with earlier theoretical discussions. The study was limited in the sense of data collection since gentrification allows for a lot more possible aspects to integrate in the research instruments. Still, the results do indicate gentrification processes could be studied in a longitudinal manner by comparing statistics, thoughts and opinions from residents and other stakeholders, as well as including own observations. Comparing and interpreting data over years allows to illustrate the dynamics of a district throughout time. Including accommodation offers and online tourism branding activities could be seen as a way to study tourism as being related to the concept of gentrification. Just as stated by theory, gentrification in this study applied to (formerly) known lower class areas close to city centres becoming popular to stay and live in and did relate to hospitality and tourism. To show, one could focus on a particular hospitality establishment in the Oude Pijp: MASH. In the earlier days of gentrification but for several decades, MASH was a locally run and visited snack bar within the center of the Oude Pijp. With the area becoming more popular over the years, the entrepreneur was challenged by a new rental contract in 2009 with a rental price five times the original price. Although agreed on this contract, the owners claimed the building for their own, to be created concept in 2011, forcing the original entrepreneur to close operations. Local people protested, but after 25 years, the fast food restaurant closed and the entrepreneur did not commented in detail. With inhabitants and their lifestyle changing during those years, a new concept entitled Bar Mash was opened at the end of 2013. In 2014, this bar was promoted at a website for Amsterdam locals as being a hip and cosy bar to hang out in. With a neighborhood being increasingly visited by and promoted to tourists in the years that followed, Bar Mash is promoted, on a tourist platform informing tourists about ten things to do in Amsterdam, as a very appealing bar to pay a visit to.

Studying relations between gentrification, hospitality and tourism could be useful for urban planning practices in the sense that a more detailed understanding of drivers and consequences of gentrification allow to better plan or allow developments of certain neighbourhood characteristics over others or safeguard existing ones. Further studies in terms of data collection would welcome bigger sample and include for example also the thoughts of accommodation providers. Additional gentrification

indicators could also be integrated in the research instruments and expanded with tourism. One example of this concerns crime rates and patterns, as known in gentrification theories (see for example Atkinson, 2004). It could be interesting to show if and how crime types shift from typical neighbourhood crimes to those being more evident in the hospitality and tourism sectors. Relating tourism and hospitality theories in ways that integrate conceptualizing as part of gentrification driving forces as well as indicators of change seems promising to better understand urban district transformation processes. Further studies could also concentrate on similar processes and relations in non-urban settings, illustrating for example similar dynamics when seaside resorts are being revitalized. In these resorts, like gentrifying urban districts, the concepts, amount and prices of hospitality and tourism products and services could change in relation to changing local and visiting populations demographics and lifestyles.

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Communication Building City Identities: Communication as a Key Enabler for Dynamic Urbanism in Smart City Environments

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The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2017
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
Why are some cities so appealing, despite their weak quality of life indicators? Dynamic cities like New York, Mumbai and Barcelona rank poorly in some life standards indicators, despite thriving economically, being specialized workforce magnets and innovation sources when compared to neighbour regions. In a fast-paced, mobile world, where innovation is one of the key economic growth sources, it is a common belief that cities should develop unique identities in order to appeal to professionals that can enhance their economic importance. The usual strategy to building city identity, based on physical interventions to develop urban dynamics may be useful, but it usually demands time and resources that, subject to political demands, may never become operational. Digital technologies can help to build a new framework, in which communications and feedback practices build information constructs that enable citizens to better interact with almost every service of their urban context, suggesting and demanding changes that can develop a new, collective urbanism.

Keywords*:* communication, urbanism, smart cities, innovation, identity

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Introduction

Much has been said of a dynamic, connected world, in which wireless technologies and home offices would widen the possibilities for remote work. In this techno-utopia, small towns would blossom, enriched by the inflow of talented professionals coming from metropolitan areas, tired of the everyday hassles of big city life.

The reality, however, is quite the opposite. Metropolitan areas are still —and there is a belief that they will continue to be— places of bigger economic opportunities, better education, greater communal safety, wider individual self-expression, improved accessibility and better health facilities. Being such attractive poles, it is of no surprise that they continue to be the world's engines of economic growth, accounting for roughly 70% of global GDP (McKinsey Global Institute Report, 2011).

This makes little sense. Why are some —by no means all— big cities so appealing, despite their weak social and development indicators when compared to neighbouring areas? Taken rationally, some global "dynamic cities", like New York, São Paulo, Mumbai and Barcelona don't measure up to their success. The results of global inquiries like *Numbeo* (2017) and *The World According To GaWC* (2016) are self-evident:

Table 1: The World According to GaWC (2016)

POWER OF ATTRACTION	
New York	Alpha ++
São Paulo	Alpha
Mumbai	Alpha
Barcelona	Alpha -

Table 2: Numbeo (July 2017)

QUALITY OF LIFE			
New York	126,44	Raleigh	203,01
São Paulo	71,85	Curitiba	125,52
Mumbai	73,12	Pune	121,72
Barcelona	127,9	Malaga	179,26

The research *The World According to GaWC* (2016) shows that New York and London are the only two cities considered *Alpha++* cities, meaning that they "*stand out as clearly more integrated than all other cities and constitute their own high level of integration*" in terms of power attraction. The same research ranks São Paulo and Mumbai as *Alpha* cities and Barcelona as an *Alpha-* city, asserting that the three cities are "*very important world cities that link major economic regions and states into the world economy*". *Numbeo* (2017), on the other hand, uses dynamic data to show that those cities have infrastructure issues and rank worse in terms of quality of life than other cities in the same region, as shown in the table above.

So how can a "dynamic" city be built? The usual urbanist strategy is to build infrastructure projects with the intention to change the population view of their city and, with this change, attract new talented professionals that may boost the economy.

This policy is not only expensive, but also risky, for it tends to build landmarks that also act as "trademarks", in which an innovative shape, showy enough to become part of the city image, may not address the true problems faced by their inhabitants. They may even have the opposite effect.

Cities as collections of people

Geoffrey West's work[1] shows that larger cities create more wealth, more efficiently, than smaller cities. These economic results usually lead to attracting more residents, which makes them grow bigger and accelerate wealth creation. It is a self-reinforcing process, that usually results in an ever-increasing demand for resources. Like many industrial processes, it enabled the growth of the industrialized world in the eighteenth century; it is powering the growth of cities in emerging markets today; and it is driving the overall growth in global population.

But cities like New York, São Paulo, Mumbai and Barcelona are not universal magnets for all kinds of business professionals. They appeal mostly to young, creative and dynamic professionals, usually in the start of their careers, able to invest a lot of time and effort to build a reputation. Seasoned professionals, with families and school children, are not as fascinated by metropolitan life as their young counterparts[2]. An economic hub may not be appealing for everyone. But by the way most cities are marketed, many believe they are "missing" something by leaving these cities.

The overvaluation of life in economic hubs has a perverse effect: small towns are being emptied, while big cities have infrastructure issues to cope with. Contrary to the commonly held belief that densely populated urban areas should be more sustainable than less concentrated rural settlements, for everything is closer together, cities are far from efficient. They account for more than 75% of the consumption of nonrenewable resources, and create around three quarters of global pollution (Kamal-Chaoui, L., & Alexis, R., 2009). Buildings alone account for nearly 40% of the total energy consumption in the United States, including 70% of the country's electricity, and 38% of carbon emissions (U.S. Green Building Council, 2014). With a global population explosion underway cities face the challenge of becoming unmanageable. In some places this already happened[3].

Growth is happening too rapidly for many infrastructure services to cope. City authorities are sometimes being stretched to a breaking point in their endeavor to meet basic requirements such as clean water, adequate waste treatment and enough supply of energy and food.

But no matter how hard some of the infrastructure problems a city may face, their inhabitants tend to be highly tolerant. It usually takes a great disappointment to leave a city, most of the time to come back sooner than expected[4]. Among the main reasons

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[1] Some of Geoffrey West's ideas are condensed in a paper of Bettencourt, L.M.A., Lobo, J., Helbing, D., Kühnert, C., & West, G.B. (2014) and in an interview recorded by EDGE Magazine in 2011.
[2] According to the Unites States Census Bureau (2017), net domestic migration to New York City metro area (which includes the five boroughs plus slivers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania) is down by a whopping 900,000 people since 2010.
[3] In 2013, the 11 million people of the Chinese city of Harbin were forced to face a citywide shut down due to poor air quality, reported by *Reuters.*
[4] See The New York Times article (Hu, 2006) and many texts about it (Botton, 2013).

to stay (or to come back) are the usual suspects: business opportunities, personal ties, school for the kids… but like a lover or an old friend that, despite all personal mistakes, one can't live without, cities have *personalities*, and their characteristics can be a strong attraction - or repulsion - factor.

No matter how efficient and/or durable their buildings and infrastructure may be, it is their inhabitants who make its true identity. Collections of people gathered together by many reasons, cities are accumulations of tastes, background stories and personal desires. These are the building blocks to a rich, complex, and challenging urban space, Being a collection of interacting people, a city identity cannot be simplified to a straightforward identity. Their personalities are complex, contradictory and, with conflicting goals. Like a kaleidoscope, at each glance new images appear, creating surprising combinations from the same predictable elements that they are made of.

Usually portrayed by the media and playing an important part of a metropolis mythology, the young, dynamic professional is not the only dweller of a city. People of many other ages and from diverse walks of life are equally important to build a true commodity: singles, couples, mothers, grandparents, unemployed fathers, independent artists, small business owners, schoolchildren, misfits, loonies, visionaries, blue-collar workers, salarymen… a city identity changes all the time. Places whose outward form may thus appear permanent and universal are founded on the experiential, associational, and ephemeral nature of dwelling and being.

It is, therefore, almost impossible to define an ideal city because there is no such thing as an ideal population. This is a myth, an abstraction derived from consumer culture. The same way that advertising agencies develop the fiction of an "ideal target market" to promote electronic gadgets, apartments, cars etc, most of the city image is directed to a constructed ideal inhabitant, usually excluding the rest of the population that enables the very existence of this minority. The mythic image of the dwellers of Rio, Tokyo, San Francisco or Paris, when taken rationally, shows how impossible a city made only of one kind of personality is.

Cities have to develop their complex identities in order to appeal to empowered citizens who can enhance their potential, instead of falling prey to a single, artificial, persona. They are messy, complex systems, and it is very hard to understand them without methodological and epistemological processes. Given that much of what is perceive on urban dashboards is sanitized, decontextualized, and necessarily partial, it is important to wonder about the political and ethical implications of this framing. In a context of global mobility, cities strive to differentiate themselves, emphasizing their economic, cultural, physical, sometimes even climatic advantages. But they shouldn't be regarded as consumer products, but living environments that have to develop efficient urban design and management of core services.

Jane Jacobs[5] dreamed of a society, but it was a society of a certain conservative cast, based on function and ultimately on order. It was a society of productive, social, mutually supporting individuals. It was a society composed largely of well-adjusted libertarians who prospered within the dominant economic framework and who would unite to pursue their common self-interest — specifically, the preservation and

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[5] See Jacobs (1961) and Page, M., & Mennel, T. (Eds.) (2011).

continuation of their shared social environment, their neighborhood. It posits a healthy neighborhood as a kind of panopticon, with an intentional lack of privacy and anonymity. Yet more important, it seems to exclude significant dimensions of actual urban experience. Where, in these idealized neighborhoods, are the lonely, the unhappy, the unwell?

Cities are materialized services. Like all services, they have specific contexts. They are emerging bodies that are born, grow and die because of the quality of the services provided[6]. In a world increasingly collaborative, cities are becoming action enablers, and their integrated urban infrastructures resemble a single, dynamic and tunable service. It is, therefore, fundamental to investigate to whom the city interfaces speak, who it excludes, why are them excluded, and how the situation can be reversed. The public arenas in which most human and institutional interactions happens is, since the Greek polis and the Roman civitas, the most suitable places for human interaction. Nowadays the public arena is being relocated from the plazas to the Internet Cloud in such a certain way that makes most cities which don't have clear identities to almost lose their meaning.

Why should a city search for its identity?

Cities are a strong component of someone's identity. Informally speaking, it's usual to refer to someone as coming from a city, not from a country. That is, if this city is somehow remarkable. In the U.S., it's not unusual to know that someone comes from New York or Los Angeles. But if the same person comes from a place like Boise, Idaho, the city is hidden from the identity, and the same person becomes an "american". The same can be said about Madrid and Barcelona in Spain, London or Manchester in England, Paris or Marseille in France.

This identity to the city is somehow expected, for the city is where identities are built. In every neighbourhood, on the sidewalks of every street people walk, meet and exchange experiences essential to build their culture. Therefore, it is essential to grasp the image that a city inhabitants make of it to understand their context and expectations, and from that, their expected reactions to any intervention. A city usually reinforces and supports the actions of their people, suggesting possible behaviors and actions according to the place lived.

The main model of a "contemporary" city is the one belonging to the American metropolis: a world that celebrates impersonality and disengagement and lays the groundwork for a culture of selfishness, competitiveness and individualism; places where significant economies revolve around the touristic gaze (what there is to see) and the culture of celebrity (whom one might see there).

New York City, one of the most typical examples of this kind of both dynamic and glacial community, owes part of its identity to a work of art: Andy Warhol's *Factory* (Watson, S. 2003, pp. 253-254), a mix of creative studio and happening place was a piece of work in itself. At the same time an unstable and upsetting environment, the very messy vitality of the place showed one way in which a group of individuals could come together, all the while pursuing their own agendas, and generate a

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[6] Barabási, A.L. (2002, p. 79) explains the growth of markets following the principles of network theory.

transformative community. It raised the possibility that a cold community, based on self-interest and disengaged from the issues and mentalities and prejudices that tend to build warm, traditional communities, could have more impact in the contemporary city precisely because it recognized and incorporated the essential driving selfishness of urban individuality.

Warhol's choice of a name for his unintended social experiment (for he was no Sociologist nor Urbanist) is rather interesting. It was neither humanistic (being a *factory*) nor street oriented, and not even residential – for it was his workplace, he lived on the Upper East Side. Nevertheless, the community gathered there, and the art, films and music that emanated from it, profoundly transformed the culture of New York and beyond, reinforcing the idea that a big city is where young people go to develop their identities.

It was, in other words, an urban myth that became used as a method of engaging behavioral change. According to Roland Barthes (2002), a myth, no matter if secular or sacred, derives its power from being believed and deeply held as true. What people think, feel, and say about a place becomes more important than the facts that really happened, to a point that can drive the original conditions close to irrelevance. The place described is detached from its original context and substituted by a new one.

But who really gains from this transformation of cities into spectacular arenas (Debord, G., 1997)? Taking Barcelona as a recent example, many of its citizens complain that its rulers transformed the city into a mass tourism product, much more than its built infrastructure is able to adequately support. Some attacks to hotels, restaurants and tourists bus, made by groups contrary of this model, are being reported this summer in the main catalonian touristic cities. The press[7] is calling those acts as *tourism-phobia*. Beyond the protests, that are more ideologic, the result is that many of its original inhabitants are being forced out of the city by high rent and consumer prices (Janoschka, M., Sequera, J., & Salinas, L., 2013). This phenomenon – which is even worse in a very well-known American city, San Francisco (Cervero, R., 2007) – raises some questions, like: *to whom are city transformations built?*; *Is it sustainable to develop infrastructure for just a part of the inhabitants (like tourists or rich technology entrepreneurs), alienating the rest?*; and *How to assess the public response of an urban intervention to avoid unexpected results?*

Bilbao, also in Spain, is a clear example of what may happen when an urban intervention is built without regard to the people already living there. It became so famous that it even coined an expression, the *Bilbao effect*, in which, according to the Witold Rybczynski (2002), *"show-dog architecture, especially in a signature style, is unlikely to pay much attention to its surroundings"*. Architectural monument-making premised on the audaciousness of select works and the invisibility of the larger urbanized environment.

The forces shaping cities today are not municipal agencies but private organizations coming from all areas. In projects of all sizes, real estate developers are managing via "partnerships" to replace city planners and bureaucrats as the chief players on the urban scene. This association is not all bad, for it can help administrations to raise

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[7] See some press examples about tourism-phobia: Congostrina, A.L. (2017); Barbería, J.L. (2017); Peter, L. (2017); López Díaz, A. (2017); and Coldwell, W. (2017).

money need to infrastructure work, but in most cases, the lasting effect is of a gentrification and a marketization of urban life, taking city ownership out of their true holders, its original inhabitants.

This Architectural turn to context-less, globalized vision mirrored what had been happening in the mass media for decades. García Canclini (2008) stated that the transformation of cities in spectacle is related to the marketing logic and to the investments attraction based on material and symbolic goods and that this process was emphasized when the passage from the industrial city to the *communicational city* occurred.

All over the world, movements like *Grassroot urbanism* (Davis, H. 2016) try to develop city identity by demanding people participation. They try to leverage the public will to face the challenge posed by market forces that, unrestrained, will have no regrets to build hollow spectacular arenas that expel their original inhabitants - the very ones who built the city identity - in order to build structures artificial like shopping malls, unaware and disregarding of the reality of the place in which it stands.

Identity in Smart Cities

The privatization of cities worsens in "Smart City" contexts, where cities become multi-device user interfaces. Many city governments have already developed web portals to showcase their open data, and host competitions, usually resulting in apps that serve a single function — finding the best bus route, for example, or measuring air quality — and that rarely survive without sufficient institutional support. This "widgetization" of urban resources almost always frame users as sources of data that feed the urban algorithmic machines, and as clients of data concerned primarily with their own efficient navigation and "consumption" of the city.

In the near future, streets will be embedded with sensors, buildings will be linked to the internet of things, sidewalks will be (some of them already are) monitored by cameras and drones, and urban infrastructure systems will be tuned by real-time data on energy, water, climate, transportation, waste and crime. These *Datacracies*, data-based political regimes, aim to transform cities into machines, searching for an ever-increasing "efficiency".

It is not clear where does the average citizen fits into this techo-marketed utopia, for most of the work on urban intelligence interfaces seem to take people for granted. The very few that address people at all, focus on them as data sources, feeding the algorithms. Rarely is the point of engagement — how people interface with, and experience, a city's operating system — considered.

The sheer size of city-scale smart systems comes with its own set of problems. Cities and their infrastructure are already among some of the most complex structures humankind has ever created. Interweaving them with complex information processing can multiply the opportunities for unanticipated interactions.

Given the complexity of these networks, and the profound implications their algorithms can have for their urban "subjects," a democratic system should give its

inhabitants means of looking inside its black boxes, even tinkering with its underlying algorithms. It should enable friendly interfaces that allow everyone to monitor those aggregators and protocols, and even deeper levels of the urban stack, including its code and hardware. This kind of empowerment intelligence, like democracy itself, is an ongoing process, never to be considered finished. Cultivating it requires well-managed tools, regulations, and processes in addition to a general cultural outlook, for, in most cases, it is a social experiment as much as an economic one.

The smart city can't be a present-day, redesigned, digital suburbia. This privatization of public spaces in the city has deep significant implications for equity, democracy and rights. Many experts and planners fear that new smart cities may become governed by powerful corporate entities that could override local laws and governments. The economist Laveesh Bhandari (2015) describes smart cities in India as "special enclaves" that would use prohibitive prices and policing to prevent "millions of poor Indians" from "enjoying the privileges of such great infrastructure" [8].

This leads to another important, mostly disregarded question: what role will the citizen play? That of unpaid data-clerk, voluntarily contributing information to an urban database that is monetized by private companies, who takes the city for granted, a fate to be endured? It is a false, dystopian abstraction, to consider urban population as smoothly moving pixels, traveling sheepishly to work, shopping malls and home, visible, measurable and controllable on colorful three-dimensional graphic display. Like all human beings, citizens should be rightfully regarded as unpredictable sources of disorderly demands and assertions of rights.

A "smart city" is an abstraction with unprecedented power upon its subjects. Through information, education, persuasion, coercion or force, it can change citizen behavior and enable rulers to spot opposition. It is not clear what may happen when so much power is yielded to a single, central operator. How can one be sure of the legitimacy of its goals? It can quickly become very dangerous, turning into a condescending, paternalistic, and even dictatorial arrangement, depending on the values built in or emerging from the system. Digital algorithms, like all human-made codes, can bring in themselves strong ideological components, which, masked within technical structures, can be hard to recognize, understand and resist.

But like all interfaces, a "Smart City" dashboard is a communication construct. If it is built with a dialogue-based approach in mind, it could promote the understanding of multiple citizens' (and, therefore, cities') identities. It could also help the inhabitants to interact with their urban context and enable them to complain about their perceived problems and demanded changes.

A datacracy can either mean a *techno-polis*, meaning a technology-enabled community; or a *technopoly*, a dystopia that Neil Postman warned in 1992, meaning a society in which technology is deified. In which, according to the author, *"The culture seeks its authorisation in technology, finds its satisfaction in technology, and takes its orders from technology."* Despite being 25 years old, this assertion couldn't be more adequate to present times.

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[8] See also India's Special Economic Zones Act (2005), allowing for exclusion rules in the new planned Smart Cities.

It is undeniable that the digitization of metropolitan infrastructures is both desirable and needed, but the way it may be performed demands consideration. A mechanistic approach, focusing mainly on databases and predictive analytics risks ignoring the subjective values that make communities lively and diverse places. Besides raising concerns about privacy and surveillance, this approach may increase social fragmentation, inequality, intolerance and many psychological illnesses that are hard to measure, such as depression and loneliness.

A digital "revolution" is less about the physical world and more about how the urban infrastructure and its inhabitants will communicate with each other in productive ways. Beyond data and analytics, smart city information and communications technologies approaches need to tap into the organic flows that make up a living city. A true digital revolution has to be less about the physical matter of cities and more about how the infrastructure and its inhabitants will communicate with each other.

It is not clear how will systems adapt to the vagaries of human behavior and still deliver the promise of high efficiency. There is nothing stated in a quantitative approach that makes it immune to biases, rather the opposite: it is not uncommon to make assumptions and justify decisions based on data reports. It is a way of thinking that may lead to serious dangers, including the misinterpretation of data sets; algorithmic shortcomings ending up in systematic errors; coincidences understood as correlations; and interpretation biases towards finding data points that reinforce beliefs.

The main risk of trusting social, ethical, moral or political issues to a bureaucrat, albeit human or technological, is its indifference to any concerns outside its area of specialization. Subjects in which efficiency is not a measurable value, like citizenship, education or human relationships tend to be ignored. When situations arise demanding some flexibility in the established rules, the results tend to be disastrous.

When users don't come into contact with the operating system, but merely reap its rewards, the result is its obfuscation. Their operators quickly become familiarized with its responses, assuming it is the "new normal" and start to depend on its recommendations without questioning their purpose. In a political system, this may eradicate any political opposition.

Modern technologies may enable urban citizens to retrieve information about the mechanisms and invisible infrastructures that make the city work and suggest new approaches. The more visible these interfaces and their interaction are, the easier is to call attention to underrepresented populations and urban problems that are filtered out of whitewashed and abstracted city renderings.

The citizen's right to the digital city strengthens the role of cities in a deliberative democracy. Private investment may shape cities, but social theories and laws are what shape private investments. First comes the image of what is wanted, then the machinery is adapted to turn out that image. The financial machinery has been adjusted to create anti-city images mostly because societies believed this would be good for its inhabitants. This mindset is now changing, being replaced by the idea of

lively, diversified communities, capable of continual, networked improvements; and the financials are gradually being adjusted to this new reality.

Communication and engagement

The creation of an effective community requires a shared sense of purpose. But in truly complex cities shaped by many agendas and diverse populations, shared purposes tend to arise only among narrowly like-minded individuals. Mobilizing people with shared stakes and beliefs is difficult, and urban complexity inherently diminishes the homogeneity that encourages such solidarity.

The major problem with the consumer culture is that it regards people as a generic simplification average, not considered able to make any decision beyond purchase and usage. In modern day social media, algorithmic structures try to suggest and predict behaviors based only on user preferences, which tend to reinforce worldviews and foster a culture of selfish and radicalized attitudes. It tends to increase habits and preferences, instead of stimulating collective behavior. In doing this, it restricts people's ability to see different viewpoints. That may create happy consumers, but it hurts democracy. A healthy media ecosystem is usually based on an informed public, able to understand —and sometimes oppose— to most of what is presented, instead of underlying algorithms powering recommendation engine that reinforces individual values as true. This attitude obstructs the view of the real city, leaving citizens with no choice but to be immersed in themselves, strengthening a primarily egocentric position and an instrumental approach to the city.

In Scientific American's special issue on tomorrow's cities, Carlo Rotti and Anthony Towsend (2011, September, p. 44) argue that smart city planning needs to focus on people, not gadgets. Planned smart cities, according to the authors, will never succeed, because heavily planned smart cities are too inflexible, locking people into systems that can't be adjusted to individual needs and uses of technology.

Rather than focusing on hardware, city governments, technology companies and urban planners should exploit a ground-up approach in which people become the agents of change. With proper support structures, citizens can address problems such as energy use, traffic congestion, health care and education more effectively than centralized dictates. Residents of wired cities can use their distributed intelligence to devise new community activities, as well as a new kind of citizen activism.

Our proposition is to use communication strategies to reverse the top-down process. First, a communication strategy is built to understand citizens views and perspectives of their city. Then, a public dialog is built to create an ongoing conversation on participatory city development. A communications-based approach can build information constructs that reflect city identity strategies, enable citizens to interact with their urban context, and empower them to demand changes. Engagement is key in this process. In a social media world, everyone has the right and the power to express opinions and to collaborate.

But to engage also means to assign public responsibilities to all participants. Unlike what is preached by consumer culture, which focuses only on people's rights, it is

important to define one's obligations toward the common good. Under this perspective, citizens tend to hold a position as co-responsible for all laid urban plans.

A smart city is one in which the seams and structures of the various urban systems are made clear, simple, responsive and even malleable via contemporary technology and design. Citizens are not only engaged and informed in the relationship between their activities, neighborhoods, and urban ecosystems, but are actively encouraged to see the city itself as something they can collectively tune, in such a way that it is efficient, interactive, engaging, adaptive and flexible, as opposed to the inflexible, mono-functional and monolithic structures of before. The interface acts as a translator, mediating between the parties, making one sensible to the other. It is more semantic than technological.

Instead of coherence, we need a diffuse and diverse sense of the city. Making places cannot be just about physical creation and destruction; but is also about observation, narrative, association, and ritual, in a simultaneity of archetypes, models, ideals, and performative tactics.

Concluding remarks

It is essential to dismiss the "ideal city" concept before the digital infrastructure of smart cities freeze urban dynamics into hermetic digital codes and processes. Before deciding how to "optimize" a bus route or highway, it is important to debate on whether this route should be optimized. While most of the smart city proposals focus on the means, it is of major importance to ponder about the ends to which these means are proposed. What is the use to make a trip to the office faster when there is no need to commute?

Urban plans must, more than ever before, consider human perspectives and needs as key elements to the development of cities. Despite being a part of the political discourse for decades, the time to turn people's wishes and demands into true, dynamic public policies has come. Social media and mobile devices gave most citizens the right to transparency and feedback. Ignoring it will not only be a political mistake; but also a human rights offence.

A continuous and frequent communication should be a structural part of all the actions put in place, in all its stages. It is the best (and probably the cheapest) way to search for a true city identity, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, street by street, interaction by interaction. With this regard, 21st century technologies may enable the building of true "ideal cities", shown in many ways, colors, shapes and perspectives to every citizen, ever changing, almost behaving like a true living environment.

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Nehru's Chairmanship of Allahabad Municipality and His Vision of the City

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Abstract
In this paper, I would be talking about Nehru's Chairmanship of the Allahabad Municipality and the vision he had for the cities in general. As it would become clear later in the paper, cities occupied important position in the thought of Nehru. Many of his experiences in the city administration and the administration in general were gained when he was the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality from April 1923 to April 1925. They also came at a crucial juncture when nationalist politics was beginning to emerge from its local roots.

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Local Administration and Politics in late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century India

The British in India introduced a slew of reforms intending to create local self-government in India. The cost factor was also kept in mind. The argument runs that the British wanted to reduce the cost of administration in India and it was more profitable to have Indians run their own administration in a limited way. It was a means to financial and administrative decentralization. The reforms were introduced gradually and often reluctantly. It was in the middle of the nineteenth century that these reforms started. It started with the introduction of the legislature into the government of India by the Charter of 1853.[1]

This limited Indianization of the British administrative machinery would be important for the later emergence of the Nationalist movements. Our concern here is the administrative decentralization of the Urban local bodies and their reconstitution. In a way, the shock of the 1857 rebellion was still looming large as the British devised plans to maintain the existing balance of forces within the society. One of the innovations of the post-mutiny years was the development of the network of municipalities.[2]

Local government remained firmly under the control of the Indian Civil Service, and this service remained predominantly British. In 1870, Lord Mayo proclaimed for the financial decentralization. It was Lord Ripon though who eventually freed more the municipalities from the official control and extended local self-government to the Districts. [3] The resolution enunciated proclaimed that the local bodies should have mostly elected non-governmental members and Chairman. The State control over urban bodies should be indirect and these bodies must be endowed with adequate financial resources to carry their functions.[4] Even so the municipal electorate was minute. Wealthy people paying certain amount of tax or owning land can form the electorate. The municipal politics was, as is mentioned above, an area where power was supposed to be exercised by the local notables. Often the town populations were divided along ethnic or religious categories.

Nehru as the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board

Allahabad was occupied by the British in 1801. Till 1863, the administration of the city was run by an official committee called the "Local Agency". In 1863, the Municipal government of Allahabad came into existence under the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Municipalities Act XXVI of 1850. The chief motive was to provide for an efficient police force, to improve the conservancy arrangements and to promote the welfare of the city. It was a nominated body constituted at the initiative of the collector. A limited elective principle in Allahabad Municipal Committee was introduced in 1868 by the North-Western Province and Oudh Municipal government Act VI of 1868.

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[1] Hugh Tinker *South Asia: A Short History* Pall Mall Press London 1966 pp.115
[2] Ibid pp.158
[3] Ibid pp.161
[4] Ram Narayan Prasad *Urban Local Self-Government in India* Mittal Publications New Delhi 2006 pp.109

The development of Municipal self-government also made it essential for the bankers to protect their economic interests by electoral actions. The municipality became an object to the immediate political energies of both commercial notable and professional men, thus providing framework within which bargaining for local resources could reinforce local control by the authorities. The first Municipal board of Allahabad was constituted under the U.P. Municipalities Act II of 1916. In the same year, election of a non-official Chairman was permitted and provisions were made to represent minority communities, especially Muslims, in the Board.[5]

This limited Indianization permitted Jawaharlal Nehru to become the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board, as it did CR Das who became the first Mayor of Calcutta, Vithalbahi Patel who became the president of Bombay Corporation, and Sardar Vallabhbahi Patel of Ahmedabad. Nehru was a reluctant chairman when he assumed office in the April of 1923. For him at that point of time, the chairmanship was "only the means for serving the nation for hastening swaraj". The best method for him was to go straight ahead on the lines chalked out by other leaders and not to wander in the shady alleys and lanes of constitutional activity.[6] As he outlined in that circular, he was following the conscious policy of the Congress to capture municipalities and spread the Congress programme. For him, everything else was secondary. Yet, we would find him in a letter addressed to Congress working committees in 1928 stating that he loves the municipal work and it could be one way of making the lives of our people better. At the same time, he says that one or two people can't accomplish that feat.[7]

Though he said in the beginning that he regrets that he cannot split himself up into various compartments- one for "general politics", another for "municipal affairs", and so on. Eventually though he started liking the work, "What I feared and disliked I have begun to like, and municipal work has begun to have some fascination for me. I feel that it is in the power of our board to make life a little more bearable, a little less painful to the inhabitants of Allahabad."[8] In 1924 the Board unanimously requested the government not to accept Jawaharlal's resignation and, if this were not feasible, to permit the board to re-elect him. Nehru throughout his chairmanship criticized the nepotism prevailing in the elections to the municipal board where people get elected on the basis of contacts and personal qualities. He proposed for a meritocratic and ideological basis of the elections rather than the trivially personal[9].

Nehru himself confessed that he was pestered with applications for appointments and people trying to advantage themselves through his position. [10] He declared that incompetency is a deadly sin and personally resolved to get rid of that. This is echoed all throughout his years in office. His concern for the socially ostracized and marginalized

[5] ibid

[6] Circular letter of Jawaharlal as secretary, prov. Cong. Committee to all district, town and *tehsil* Congress committees and members of prov. Cong. Committee , 5 April 1923

[7] Nehru's Letter to Municipality, File No. XI Nehru Museum and Memorial Library(NMML),(My own translation)

[8] Sarvapalli Gopal *Jawaharlal Nehru A Biography* Volume One 1889-1947 pp.89

[9] Nehru's circular to the Congress Working committee (My translation)

[10] S.Gopal (eds) *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru Volume Two* Orient Longman pp.7

sections of the society is also evident through his interventions in the case of the prostitutes, or the poor *ekkawalas (*people who drive carriages*)*. I will come to *ekkawalas* later, but Nehru was concerned with the treatment prostitutes get in a city.[11] He was against the Prostitutes being cornered to a party of a city and supported the rights of Prostitutes to buy property. For that, he was ready to interpret the bye-laws and even change them. In other words, Nehru was convinced prostitutes possess as much rights to the city as any other.

Nehru was made the chairman of the Hackney carriages committee in 1923. He was to look after the suitability of placing the hackney carriages in an appropriate stand. The Board members were convinced that Nehru was the best person for it[12]. The *ekkawalas* made a petition that a concession be granted to third and fourth class hackney carriages and ekka at twenty five percent and to ekkas of fifth class at fifty percent[13]. This is during the time of *Magh Mela* (religious pilgrimage) of 1924. What follows is interesting set of correspondence which reveals the tussle between the cantonment board committee and the municipality. In a letter directed to the Commissioner of the Allahabad division, the cantonment Magistrate objected to the proposed increased rates on behalf of the Cantonment Authorized on the 11th January 1924. The reasoning given is that it affects especially the poorer classes using such conveyances. These classes include sepoys and others living in Cantonments[14].

Eventually it is argued that the area borders on the jurisdiction of the cantonment and hence the municipality has no legal right to frame laws over it. In a letter written on behalf of the *ekkawalas,* it was argued that the price of basic consumption has increases and licensing fee has increased too. They petition the board to increase the number of days they can charge nominally higher rates from three days to six days. [15] We know from the documents that the *ekkawalas* were being harassed by the constant fines they are being made to pay. We also know that free rides on these carriages were also used by the municipal board employees. Nehru himself chastised them strongly and warned that if they are found indulging in free rides, they would be dismissed.[16] We know too that these *ekkawalas* who were proposing an increase of the rates for few days were the lowliest of the carriage people.

In a way, the above tussle reveals to us the jurisdictional battle and the limited powers of the Indian municipalities. The Cantonments were not accountable to the municipalities and had their own cantonment committee. There was a conflict of interest between the military and civic needs of the city. In fact, the *Magh Mela* itself became a site of tussle between the Municipal board and the government. Nehru had to convene a special meeting of the board to discuss what termed the "obstinacy" of the Board to address the questions of the bathing of the pilgrims in the *Sangam*[17] (confluence of rivers). The

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[11] Ibid pp.16
[12] Allahabad Municipal Board File No. 9/X, NMML, New Delhi
[13] Allahabad Municipal Board
[14] ibid
[15] Allahabad Municipal Board File No. 7/7, NMML, New Delhi
[16] Allahabad Municipal Board File No. 7, NMML, New Delhi
[17] 15 January 1924. Allahabad Municipal Board File No. 23/XII-4

authorities had denied access to the *Sangam* owing to the strong current of the river Ganges. He said he is convening the meeting because a large section of people's feeling was hurt.

This also reveals that Nehru was concerned with the state of affairs of the poor inhabitants of the city. There is a desire on his part to spend more money on public health and sanitation, education, public works etc. For example, when the commissioner points to the terrible infant mortality, Nehru wants something to be done to it. He also is worried about the lack of training among *dais* and wants them to be replaced with something more reliable. [18] As we proceed in Nehru's Chairmanship, the efficiency of the Board increases and gets reflected in the number of meetings. He commends the board in September 1923 and praises them for having regular meetings.[19] In three months, the board manages to have twenty six meetings, averaging nine meetings per month. However, the concern for poor carriage people or prostitutes did not necessarily bear result and Nehru got frustrated with nepotism and inefficiency of the Board.

The fact that municipal boards are not merely a space for city administration but an active sphere of politics is evident throughout the years of Nehru's Chairmanship. He objected to the public reception of the Lord Reading by the Allahabad Municipality and said that" public reception to the Viceroy is a shameful thing for anyone to whom the honour of India is dear and precious". [20] It is also evident when he talks about using khaddar in municipal schools, flying the national flag in universities and singing the national anthem. He introduced Hindustani in the Municipal board hoping it will instill pride among the people. Spinning wheels were distributed in all girls' school and spinning taught in a business-like way by experts and special attention paid to the care and repair of the *Charkha.*[21] Empire day ceased to be celebrated and Nehru argued that the idea of empire in the true sense of the word is out of date and only the dark side of the empire is visible.[22] Instead, Tilak day, the first August, the death anniversary of the late Lokmanya, and the eighteenth March, the Gandhi Day, when the leader Mahatma Gandhi was sentenced was added to the list of holidays.

When it came to the revenues of the municipal government, Nehru was convinced that octroi had to be abolished. He argued that the octroi tax kills the trading activity though it adds to the municipal revenue. [23] Octroi would reduce the tax on poor. He argued that there should be no indirect tax of any kind as it harms the poor and the small shopkeepers. There should be direct tax and those who are rich should pay more and the absolutely poor should not be asked to pay any tax. House tax should be replaced by land tax. There should be a tax on the rich who employ many servants. He concludes the letter by saying that the municipality should be taken to a new direction. It was the policy of Congress, as I have argued above, to capture the municipalities.

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[18] *Selected Works of Nehru* pp.25
[19] Ibid pp.25
[20] 25 October 1923. Allahabad Municipal Board File 37/XII-3
[21] 17 December, 1923. *The Allahabad Municipal Gazette Extraordinary* , Part Iv, 21 December 1923
[22] *The Tribune,* 27 August 1924
[23] Nehru's Letter on municipal elections 18 November, 1928, File No. 7 (My own translation)

It does appear that Nehru remained in conflict over the politics of Congress and the local politics of the Municipal board. He expressed his love for the work in the municipal boards but often went back to the pessimism that not much can be done over it. In the year 1928 in which he expressed his desire to do municipal work, he was dissuaded by Gandhi. Gandhi suggested to Nehru not to combine all India work with solid Municipal work. "Solid Municipal work is a thing in itself and require all the energy that a man can give it and I would not like your work to be anything but solid", he suggested. [24] Perhaps it did not sit well with the image he wanted to be identified with, that of a revolutionary leader who abhors constitutionalism.

Also the legislative councils expanded in 1909 and in U.P., of the elected members, thirteen were elected by local bodes, nine by district boards and the smaller municipalities and four chosen by large cities in rotation. [25] Thus as Tinker argues, in order to make his mark on national or provincial public life, the Indian politician of the time had to begin by standing as a member of a local board, and then had to secure sufficient prestige amongst his colleagues on the local bodies of his division to ensure further election to the provincial council.

To come to Nehru, his chairmanship of Board was appreciated from many quarters of society. The commissioner himself appreciated his hard work and devotion to the board. When he tried to resign from the board in 1924, his resignation was not accepted. There was certain discipline and efficiency that all agreed had been brought in by Nehru's leadership. It also needs to be noted though that there were certain control of urban affairs that had been achieved in U.P. due the U.P. Municipalities act of 1916 and the later Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Such reforms did not produce the same results everywhere.

Nehru and the vision of the city

City for Nehru occupied an extremely important part of not merely the society, but for civilization itself. He believed that between the State and the individual comes the municipality of a city which itself is a microcosm of the larger state.[26] Cities are also central to the removal of the poverty of the people. A municipality must provide schools, hospitals, water supply and good roads without any expectation of financial profit from them. For him, it was one of the main responsibilities of the city to house the poor and feed them. It itself was a part of his egalitarian vision. As for the revenue, he had already outlined the sources of the revenues. Basically, it would be the demand-driven mode based on increasing the consumption of the city dwellers.

He gives the example of the City of Vienna which had managed to do just that. By a jester system of taxation they have raised large sums of money from those who can afford to pay, and with this money they have provided fine sanitary dwellings for the ordinary

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[24] Reference is there in Sarvapalli book
[25] Ibid pp.88
[26] "Service to the Poor" *Letter directed to Syt Amal House, Editor Municipal Gazette, Central Municipal Office , Calcutta* 31.10.29 NMML, New Delhi

workers and raised their standard of life in many ways[27]. He argued that because of this raising of a standard of life, the worker has become more efficient and a better citizen. The trade also flourishes due to increased spending. The object of municipality for Nehru was not merely to "build fine buildings but to build fine men and women."[28] The primary service of municipality is to remove poverty.

Fundamentally the idea was that the material poverty inhibits the realization of the civic consciousness of a city. Only a healthy and politically engaged citizenry can participate in the city affairs and work for its improvement. Nehru however does not takes the question of civic consciousness as an abstract concept, for instance, as used by Weber[29] in outlining the history of cities in the world. The modern Indian municipalities got divided along caste and religious lines with reserved sections for the Muslims and the lower castes in the municipalities. It is striking that in a stratified society like India, Nehru did not say much about the caste division that existed spatially in the cities. A city based on the primordial identities of caste and kinship was clearly far more incapable of forming organic solidaristic institutions of the impersonal kind and displaying that bond for the cities. Hence can we talk of civic consciousness in the Indian cities?

In fact, certain facts do reveal how religious or caste consciousness hampered any British effort to provide limited amenities to the city. For example, just before 1914, in certain UP municipal elections "the various candidates preferred to substitute for open election the simple process of casting lots in a temple." When electricity supplies were being extended to U.P. towns in the 1920s and 1930s, considerable opposition was voiced by orthodox Muslims on the grounds that the *Tazias*(processions) carried in *Mohurrum (*Muslim religious day) processions would be interfered with. Certain places like the tribal regions of the north-west abolished the municipalities after finding it of trifle use[30]. This is of course not to suggest that the British hold on the cities is not responsible for the state of affairs of the city. Perhaps it was the political considerations of the Congress that Nehru did not want to disturb. The important task, as he often said, was to fight imperialism. This is also striking precisely because the British ideology was that Indians are incapable of running their cities and country.

The growth of cities in history represents something positive for the human civilization. It was in the cities, he said, the idea of providing something more than the protection of the citizen first developed. Before the growth of cities, the state was looked upon as the private possession of the sovereign. The chief business of the State was to tax the subjects and provide security, but no more. Such states he calls the "Police states" and the British government in India was also a police state. Fundamentally, the "Police States" do not provide anything industrial, cultural, educational or material to the State.[31]

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[27] ibid
[28] ibid
[29] Max Weber *The City*
[30] Hugh Tinker *The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* University of London The Athlone Press 1954
[31] "The Civic Ideal", *Nehru Private Papers,* File No. XI, NMML, New Delhi

Cities provide the conglomeration of large number of people and results in the growth of cooperative activities and of culture, Nehru goes to on write in his "civic ideals". It was from here that the civic ideals began to emerge, the idea that amenities for the common enjoyment of citizens should be provided for[32]. There was a sense of public sharing of resources and utilities that came about. These included roads, bridges, sanitation, lighting, water-supply, schools and recreation parks and many others. It is considered municipality's responsibility to provide these and also art-galleries and music halls. However the basic need of providing food should be met in all conditions by the municipality. Cities should also provide employment and work too all.

Nehru goes on to say that under the current social structure there has been a saturation of socialist ideals. He says that it was eventually the state that monopolized the civic ideals. Not only the State now gives humans security from external invasion and internal disorder, but it educated them, taught them industries, tried to raise their standard of living, gave them opportunities for the development of culture, provided them with insurance schemes to enable them to face unforeseen contingency, gave them all manner of amenities, and made itself responsible for his work and food[33]. Under the current social structure, the civic ideals can proceed no more. What should be the future course now? Nehru proposes that it is under socialism that civic ideals can proceed now. As he puts it, "The true civic ideal is the socialist ideal, the communist ideal. It means the common enjoyment of the wealth that is produced in nature and by human endeavor."

He feels happy and pleasant expounding these days because he says these ideas are beyond the domain of politics. These are constructive ideas which are engaging. He then laments the fact that he is too much a politician to give an advice on that. He hence seem to draw a line between the municipal work and the real politics that he is engaging in which is to fight imperialism. Municipal work is an autonomous domain, he seems to suggest while the fight against British imperialism is where the real fight starts. It is hard to be convinced of his ideas when we know municipal politics was the real politics too. It was a domain in which real power resided. Of course, this might be Nehru's own rhetorical justification for the fight against imperialism. It clearly reveals Nehru's own conflict of mind regarding municipal work. He often echoes this point that it's not possible to work in municipal politics because of imperialism. Yet his own years as the municipal chairman revealed the possibilities of changing the fortunes of a city, albeit not in an unlimited way.

In another letter circulated in 1928[34], he outlines other basic provisions of a municipality. The municipalities must also provide schools and playgrounds for children. All children must study and enroll themselves in a school. There should be clean mass housing for the poor and alternative accommodation should be provided for the people who are going to be displaced by municipal actions. Dairy should be opened to provide regular supply of milk. Small industries based on work at home should be encouraged, specially sewing and cutting. A library should be opened in all neighbourhoods so that people can avail its

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[32] ibid
[33] ibid
[34] Nehru's letter to municipality , NMML, 18.11.1928

services. There should be committees and Panchayats of people who live in a neighborhood which could help the municipal board. The neighborhood committees would also ensure that the people are together serving the city. There should be also provision for the elderly. They should be taken care of.

What emerges out from the above discussion are the two domains of political action for Nehru- one in the municipal sphere and the other at the nation. It is also quite clear that the national politics is most important political domain for Nehru. It may well be that revolutionary politics continued to haunt Nehru well into his later life. He started as a revolutionary socialist and yet his first political move was being the chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board. It is also not that Nehru's interest in municipalities declined in any time in the future. That Nehru wanted to be a proactive citizen is exhibited often in his concerns with municipal work later in the years of high politics. He continued to complain against the ugly advertisements on the road, various kinds of unwanted voices in the processions and the lack of roads that inhibits movement of people.[35] In a letter to the Municipal board in as late as 1953, he expresses his surprise that the octroi duty has yet not been abolished in the municipality[36].

For Nehru the detailed visions that he outlined above can only be achieved after the independence of the country when the British "Police State" ceases. Therefore for Nehru, the priority now should be to fight the British government in an aim to achieve independence. However, the municipal work also convinced Nehru that it required far more dedication than he thought. As he often said, it required people to dedicate themselves to it or there is no point to doing a municipal work. In that context, he often praised the American system of city development which was far more specialized and dedicated[37]. It perhaps was also very efficient having to deal with less nepotism and inefficiency of the kind that plagued the Indian municipalities.

Nehru was critical of the Improvement Trusts of Allahabad too in the manner in which they wanted to bring improvements to the city.[38] Improvement Trusts had been started after the First World War to improve the city infrastructure of roads and housing.[39] Nehru criticized the Allahabad Improvement Trust for its extravagance in dealing with the state of affairs. He criticized the Trust officers for drawing heavy salaries and buying expensive motor cars. He also accused them of being unprepared and immature in doing the work of the Trust. He was also critical of the Trust because of it doing very little for the inhabitants of the city in terms of better housing and more playgrounds. Allahabad is a spread-out city but the open spaces are mostly limited to the civil station.

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[35] Nehru's letter to the municipality, September 24, 1936 , NMML, New Delhi
[36] Sarvapalli Gopal *Jawaharlal Nehru A Biography* Volume One 1889-1947
[37] S.Gopal (eds) *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru Volume Two* Orient Longman
[38] Improvement Trust Enquiry Committee 3rd August, 1924 , File. No. 7/X , NMML, New Delhi
[39] Nandini Gooptu *The Politics of the Urban Poor in the Early Twentieth-Century India* Cambridge University Press 2005

Conclusion

Nehru's Chairmanship in the Allahabad Municipality was crucial for the future of Nehru's political career. The commissioner was compelled to record the impression that the "improvement of the administration as largely due to the Chairman, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and a few public spirited members of the board." The U.P. government too praised him writing "Pandit Kalpdeo Malviya was elected chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board by (a majority of) two votes, in succession to Jawaharlal Nehru, who strove to show that a swarajist could be an administrator and a gentleman, and the commissioner thinks the newcomer's position will be very difficult".[40]

Nehru's own interest in cities is evident throughout his life. Writing to his daughter which would eventually be published as "Glimpses of World History", he said, "Cities and Civilization often go together [...]... with the growth of cities learning also grows and the spirit of freedom. Men living in rural areas are scattered and are often very superstitious. They seem to be at the mercy of the elements. They have to work very hard and have little leisure, and they dare not disobey their lords. In cities large numbers live together; they have the opportunity of living a more civilized life, of learning, of discovery, and criticizing, and of thinking."

Writing in his autobiography, he said he felt "hedged in, obstructed, and prevented from doing anything really worth while[41] in the municipality. Yet he adds that it was not a deliberate obstruction of anybody's part; rather he enjoyed surprising amount of willing cooperation. He further goes on to say that the main issues in the municipality are kept out, chiefly because it is kept out of its functions. He then launched an attack on the government for preventing any meaningful action in the municipality. The framework of the municipality was authoritarian and did not permit any radical innovation of any kind.

Acknowledgements

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[40] Sarvapalli Gopal *Jawaharlal Nehru A Biography* Volume One 1889-1947

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A Postmodern Exploration of the Screened Dialogue between Past and Present in Barcelona (Un Mapa) and Barcelona as a Dystopia

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The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2017
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This paper highlights the postmodern elements in Ventura Pons' *Barcelona (un mapa*) (2007). In focus is the screened representation of a sophisticated Barcelona portrayed against the backdrop of a transformative post-Olympic era, and Pons' tendency to steer away from urban gloss. Rather, he highlights the dystopic elements of his native city. The film emphasises the negative aspects of rapid urban change in dialogues where ambivalent characters struggling to come to grips with Barcelona's global makeover reject the Catalan capital rather than praise it and take pride in their urban existence. Also analysed is Barcelona seen as a place that can be mapped and spatially explored, and the use of the photo effect to connect the pre-democratic past with the global present. Based on Llüisa Cunillé's screenplay *Barcelona, mapa d'ombres*, the title *Barcelona (un mapa)* reflects shadows from the past that linger in a visual narrative mainly steeped in the present. 1990s postmodernity is reflected in pastiche elements and a collage-like structure, where a cinematic montage challenges chronological time patterns. The storyline criss-crosses between past and present through the repeated use of flashbacks and an opening scene featuring black and white footage from the moment Franco forces invaded Barcelona in 1939. The viewer is then swiftly transported into a colour-tinged present. This non-linear narrative structure underscores the film's postmodernity, as does the episodic plot containing a number of lengthy dialogues. Rather than on external action, Pons explores complex character relationships and the relationship between these characters and their increasingly postmodern habitat.

Keywords: Pons, Barcelona, postmodernity, post-Olympic, Spain, cinematic montage, past and present

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1. Introduction

This analysis highlights the postmodern elements in Pons' *Barcelona (un mapa)* (2007). In focus is the constant dialogue between past and present in the film partly achieved through interspersed sequences of real footage from Barcelona's past, which adds to the mosaic and cartographic layout of the film. Of additional interest is Pons' representation of Barcelona perceived as a dystopic place, achieved through a skilful use of camera techniques and angular shots that cause a feeling of unease in the viewer. Also, the characters themselves reject their city's non-traditional architecture by verbally criticizing more recent urban constructs and, particularly, Antoni Gaudí's highly contested la Sagrada Familia.

Ever faithful to the Catalan region, language and culture, Pons has proven repeatedly that success can be achieved also by working in his regional language. In films where characters generally converse in their native Catalan, their often problematic and strained relationship with each other and also with their transformed urban space is highlighted while at the same time Pons paints a global image of Barcelona that reflects his awareness of concurrent urban developments. In the words of Jaume Martí-Olivella (2011, 200), "Ventura Pons is perhaps the only film-maker who has established a personal cinematic idiom about the city [of Barcelona], his own city." Indeed, this becomes evident in Pons' tendency to repeatedly use Barcelona as a metropolitan backdrop for his plots. Coming from a theatrical background, Pons in his oeuvre draws inspiration from novels or stage plays by prominent Catalan writers and playwrights such as Lluís-Anton Baulenas, Sergi Belbel, and Lluïsa Cunillé. The cinematic result is a number of theatrical elements, scenes where only a few characters converse at a time, and very direct dialogues that often have an almost visceral effect on the viewer.

Postmodern cinema has been defined as one that

> thrives on simulation (using comedy or pastiche to imitate former genres or styles), prefabrication (reworking what is already there rather than inventing materials), intertextuality (texts exist in relationship to other texts and are tissues of quotations from other texts) and bricolage (assemblage of works from eclectic sources) (Chaudhuri 2005).[i]

In keeping with these criteria, several of Pons' films can be regarded as cross-disciplinary as the former theatre director establishes a connection between theatre and cinema. This is certainly the case in *Barcelona (un mapa)*, based on Cunillé's 2004 screenplay. The plot revolves around tenants notified to vacate their flats in an apartment building in central Barcelona when ailing elderly landlord Ramon declares that he wishes to spend his remaining days alone with wife Rosa. As the tenants individually react to the news we glimpse their personalities while at the same time Pons draws a seemingly fragmented yet ultimately complete portrait of the couple leasing the apartments. What appears to be a film firmly set in the here and now turns out to be much more when the past is invited into the present through a number of cinematographic techniques.

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[i] This excerpt from page 9 of Shohini Chaudhuri's book *Contemporary World Cinema: Europe, The Middle East, East Asia and South Asia* (2005) paraphrases Susan Hayward's *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts* (pp. 277-8, 83). London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

Postmodern Elements and Urban Landmarks

Translated into English as *Barcelona, Map of Shadows,* this title remains faithful to that of the original Catalan play. The historical shadow play that we become witness to could mainly refer to the shadows from the Catalan past that linger in a screened narrative generally steeped in the global present. Apart from in these visual fragments, the film's postmodernity is reflected in its pastiche or collage-like structure, with a deconstructionist *montage* at times considered "the primary form of postmodern discourse" (Harvey 1989)[ii] and which challenges a conventionally chronological time pattern in a nonlinear manner, and in lengthy dialogues where we glimpse the mind of each character. Thus, a slow narrative pace and a focus on character development take precedence over external action. Pons' theatrical plot structure makes for a film that criss-crosses between past and present by way of regular flashbacks from times gone by and an opening scene featuring black and white footage of the decisive moment when Franco forces entered Barcelona unopposed in January 1939.[iii] A postmodern, hybrid filmic text is created which visually interweaves different eras and where real footage is used to complement a fictive storyline set in a screened present.

In the film, Pons paints a disturbing yet realistic picture of a number of individuals whose lives in global Barcelona are impaired by their inability to fully embrace an urban environment that they neither fully recognise nor tolerate. Here, the postmodern architecture, at a time when it becomes "the norm to seek out 'pluralistic' and 'organic' strategies for approaching urban development as a 'collage' of highly differentiated spaces and mixtures" (Harvey 1989, 40), contrasts starkly with the more classical architecture of old Barcelona. Making up the real, off-screen cityscape are more traditional buildings erected during Catalonia's periods of Romanticism, Neo-classicism and Historicism. Neo-Gothic elements also make up the city architecture. A product of the post-moderniste[iv] Catalan movement, Gaudí, whose Roman Catholic landmark the Sagrada Familia draws negative criticism in the film, has left a baroque imprint on the cityscape; with buildings often steeped in a ground-breaking modernity.[v] His unconventional cathedral, which is estimated to be completed in 2026 ("Revealed: How Gaudi's Barcelona cathedral will finally look on completion in 2026," 2013)[vi] has received mixed reviews from residents and visitors alike - and so it

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[ii] Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (p.51). Oxford, England and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell. Harvey here refers to Derrida.
[iii] Not surprisingly, the film has been called a "metaphor for the recent history of Catalonia." Barcelona (un mapa) 2007. *Cambridge Film Festival*, retrieved from
http://www.cambridgefilmfestival.org.uk/films/2012/barcelona
[iv] Arthur Terry stresses that "Catalan modernism - not to be confused with Spanish *modernismo*, whose context is quite different - was above all an attempt to create a genuinely modern, European culture out of what was felt to be a purely local and regional one." Terry, A. (1995). Catalan Literary *Modernisme* and *Noucentisme*: From Dissidence to Order. In H. Graham, & J. Labanyi (Eds.), *Spanish Cultural Studies. An Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity* (p.55). New York: Oxford University Press.
[v] In David Mackay's words, "Catalan culture, always at the cross-roads of European movements, absorbed these tendencies through Gaudí, Domènech and Puig, reshaping their contradictory aspects to produce the finest examples of national Modernist architecture: a Romantic architecture that, while harking back to an idealized medieval era, was free to respond to the functional requirements of a new mode, personally interpreted and popularly understood as being appropriate to the aspirations and self-image of a country that wished to express both its unique personality and its integral modernity." Mackay, D. (1985). *Modern Architecture in Barcelona (1854-1939)* (p. 42). UK: The University of Sheffield Printing Unit.
[vi] Revealed: How Gaudi's Barcelona cathedral will finally look on completion in 2026… 144 years after building started. (2013, October). Retrieved from http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-

does also from the protagonists, some of whom scream at the monument in open rejection and disgust while, ironically, in the same breath sympathising with it by pitying it for being surrounded by other in their mind equally abominable, more recent, urban constructs.

Urban Dystopia

Barcelona (un mapa) highlights the complex relationship between the protagonists and their partly unrecognisable urban habitat. They experience a bewildering sense of *architorture*[vii] and remain apprehensive towards buildings that are architecturally and aesthetically non-homogeneous and whose surface glamour reflects the sleek postmodern architecture of Barcelona; such as the 1957 Camp Nou stadium and the Torre Agbar skyscraper, erected in 2005. These modern constructs add a shiny gloss to a city with a troublesome past that still haunts the characters.[viii] And thus, although there is constant communication between the protagonists in this metropolitan, semi-historical drama, they are all the more incapable of establishing a dialogue with their own city. Drawing from Deleuze, Anton Pujol (2009, 172) talks of a sense of deterritorialisation in the film, brought about by "nationalism, *Modernisme,*" and "anarchism." In our global era, this feeling of 'un-belonging' and rootlessness also signifies the erosion and eventual collapse of any clear delimitations between culture and a specific place. Rather, in today's multicultural society urban space, in particular, has become more fluid (to borrow a Baumanian term) and there is a loosening of cultural ties and boundaries which is reflected in *Barcelona (un mapa)*. There is a sense of alienation amongst the characters towards their architecturally experimental habitat. In a de-territorialized Deleuzian fashion, "[w]hen the cosmic connections of an endless line of the universe are severed," the result is the "emergence of a disoriented, disconnected space" (Bogue 2003, 99). Specifically, in the film the protagonists are seemingly as disoriented in their post-Olympic environment as Barcelona itself would have been even fifteen years after the games were being held; a comparatively short time-span from a historical perspective. This is a city subjected to constant architectural, societal and political changes.

A Historical Shadow Play

Cunillé's, "mapa d'ombres" relates to the recent history of Catalonia and what has been called a "shadowy city" [of Barcelona] "[u]nder the Franco regime" (Resina 2008, 179) and to the gradually unveiled secrets of the protagonists. The title mainly hints at the many social, spatial and historical layers that dwell at the surface of

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2440014/How-Gaudis-finished-La-Sagrada-Familia-cathedral-look-completion-2026--144-years-building-started.html

[vii] This concept has been defined as a "sense of homelessness ... a primal sense of loss, a loss that has lost nothing, that has always already existed and that, like Baudrillard's simulacrum, has no origin or original, but underpins the very possibility of existence." Sorfa, D. (2003). Architorture: Jan Švankmajer and Surrealist Film. In M. Shiel, & T. Fitzmaurice (Eds.), *Screening the City* (p.108). London and New York: Verso.

[viii] According to Antonio Sánchez, "[f]iguratively speaking, it can be said that Barcelona's redevelopment has transformed the ailing modern city into a gigantic postmodern mirror reflecting an idealized image of itself to local and global audiences alike." Sánchez, A. (2002). Barcelona's Magic Mirror: Narcissism or the Rediscovery of Public Space and Collective Identity?. In J. Labanyi (Ed.), *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice* (p. 303). New York: Oxford University Press.

Barcelona's current condition and that make up a complex Catalan capital. In more concrete terms, behind Pons' smooth façade of postmodern Barcelona are years of historical turmoil.[ix] His film spectator "moves across an imaginary path, traversing multiple sites and times" (Bruno 2008, 19). The film becomes a mosaic where Pons invites us on a both geographical and historical journey back in time, whereby he brings us almost seamlessly back into the global present.

Barcelona (un mapa) opens with an archival map serving as a stark reminder of the Catalan cause and the still problematic and controversial relationship between Barcelona and Madrid. This is achieved through footage from the decisive moment when Franco forces entered the Catalan capital unopposed in 1939, with General Juan Bautista Sánchez ultimately thanking the citizens for (involuntarily) facilitating the recognition of Franco as sole leader of all of Spain[x] in a historically significant speech directed to the Catalan people and which has been audio-visually recorded for the after-world.

In this introductory scene, an effective photo effect is achieved when the scene featuring the Franco general addressing his contemporary audience provokes the dual sensation of the cinematic viewer being likewise spoken to in a manner which merges reality and fiction and which conforms to John Ellis' statement that "[t]he cinematic image is … in some sense the perfection of photography: superior in its ranges of nuance of colour or black-and-white to video; firmly within the paradoxical regime of presence-yet-absence that can be called the 'photo effect'" (1982, 38), similarly described as cinema being "present absence: it says 'This is was.'" (59)[xi]

The black and white documentary shots depicting crowds gathering for the arrival of the national forces become additionally effective through Pons' close-ups of select spectators - among others a young girl seemingly seeking reassurance from her father. The viewer is lured into believing that the narrative will linger in the past but Pons soon proves to us that "cities are spaces of transitions" (Bruno 2008, 18). Through fluid camera movements the focus on the human element in this emotionally charged urban scene is gradually replaced by a shift into real time, through an establishing shot featuring a now colour-tinged Barcelona skyline. The visual narrative suddenly anchored in the global present perfectly conforms to a "typical exposition of spatial relationships", which "will begin with an establishing shot of a general location, for example, a cityscape, and might be followed by a shot of a street or building, before moving to an interior shot of an apartment" (Jordan and Allinson 2005, 55).

Barcelona (un mapa) is, indeed, soon transported into internal milieus and the narrative incorporates conversations between six main characters. Regular flashbacks with images from, e.g., within the Liceu Opera House that are heavy in nostalgia, help

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[ix] In light of this, Josep. M. Muñoz calls *Barcelona (un mapa* "una metáfora sobre la devastación del franquismo." El hombre invisible, *La Vanguardia Opinión,* (2008, January). Retrieved from http://hemeroteca.cdmae.cat/jspui/bitstream/65324/6616/1/20080111MAE-VAN-I.pdf

[x] "These are the images of a hungry Barcelona who throws itself to the streets to cheer the entry of Franco's army. In these images resides the key of a splendid film about the permanent defeat", Cambridge Film Festival 12-22 September 2013: *Barcelona (un mapa)* 2007, La Vanguardia. Retrieved from http://www.cambridgefilmfestival.org.uk/films/2012/barcelona

[xi] Pons' cinematic portrayal of a *now* and a *then* in this opening scene has a Barthian photo effect on the viewer, in the sense that images are conjured "of individuals who are apparently present but actually absent." Elwes, C. (2005). *Video Art: A Guided Tour* (p. 123). London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

continuously interconnect the past and the present. These brief images create a fluid notion of time and space, collapsing the boundaries between the two. Pons' flashbacks also heighten and underscore the characters' re-narrated personal recollections. References are made to times gone by[xii] and to well-known landmarks making up Barcelona's cityscape. Thus, a crystal effect is achieved "that fuses the historical past and the present in perpetual exchange" (Pujol 2009, 65). Pujol further notes that "[t]he movie's historical hopscotch subjugates the characters, who cannot conceive an auspicious exit" (74). Indeed, in the film the characters come across as adrift within their urban existence and seem to have lost their footing in life in general. They are stuck in a circular narrative where they recall the past while at the same time they battle to come to grips with post-Olympic Barcelona. The story told thus becomes not only a recollection of the past but in equal measure one of dissatisfaction and malaise in the urban present. As effectively summarised by two characters in the first scene of the movie: "- I don't like looking back," "- [and] I don't like looking forwards" (Pons 2007).

The cartographic overall layout of the film extends also to the protagonists' own hitherto unexplored inner territory. Their individual preferences, predilections and secrets have all been revealed to the viewer by the end of a film that leaves us with a multifaceted image of global Barcelona and some of its citizens.

2. Conclusion

Barcelona (un mapa) thus operates on different levels yet the various personal, historical, and societal narratives are symbolically intertwined and in the end they form one greater narrative.

The map of shadows that initially defined Pons' urban map is finally illuminated in several ways and the shadows from both past and in the present have largely disappeared by the last scene. The episodic and circular plot development hence comes full circle and any lose ends are tied up. The narrative circularity of the highly postmodern storyline allows us to again witness the same elderly landlords around whom the plot revolves, after having been initially introduced to us in the first (fictive) scene. However, their conversation has now taken on a rather different aspect. No longer do they play the formal role of lessors but, rather, they embrace their own peculiarities by voicing secrets in the open; secrets that not even a lengthy marriage has managed to unveil. As they embark on a mutual cross-dressing session in a scene showing Rosa dressed as a man in suit and tie, Ramon only dons lipstick but in doing so he, too, embraces the mask of performativity. A number of secrets between the two unravel from here, including such varied themes as incest and adultery, and Ramon's confessed burning of the Liceu Opera House through a sheer act of willpower.

[xii] Interestingly, Ramon, central to the urban narrative, even dreams of the war: "Lately I dream of the war. The day the war finished, mostly" (with an obvious reference to the Spanish Civil War), to which his tenant cynically retorts: "Wars never finish, Ramon. They just go on one after the other, but don't finish." *Barcelona (un mapa)*, dir. Ventura Pons, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya - Institut Català de les Indústries Culturals (ICIC), Els Films de la Rambla S.A., Televisió de Catalunya (TV3), and Televisión Española (TVE), 2007. DVD.
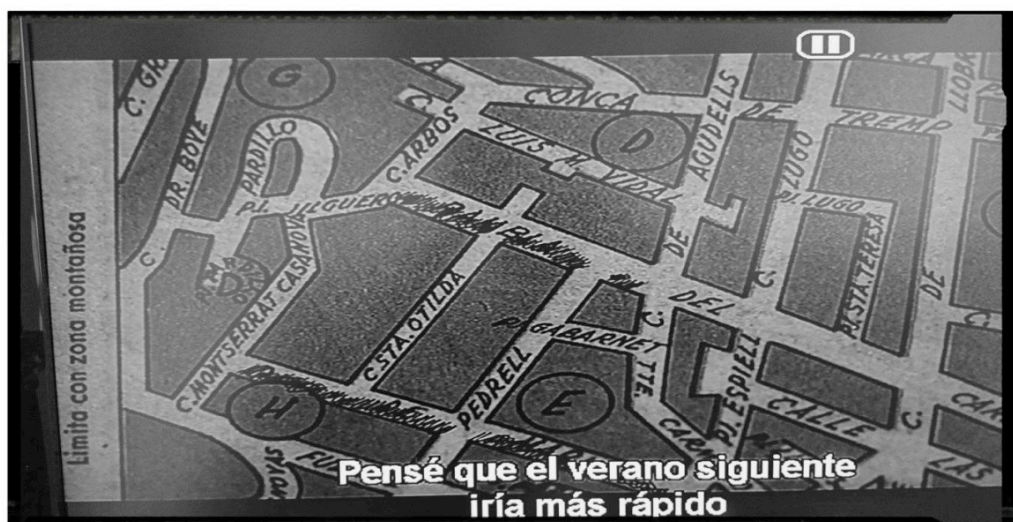
As part of this last marital confession the viewer is presented images of a city guidebook that comes to life as we follow Ramon's re-narrated walk on foot through the city; through detailed, interactive street maps illustrating his urban trajectory. The shadows defining this "gran mapa de sombras" (Pons 2007) are, through the spouses' mutual confessions as they cross-dress at ease inside their apartment, finally gone. And although at the end the viewer is re-presented the initial black and white 1939 footage where we realise that the young girl we had seen forming part of the masses is, in fact, Rosa as a girl, Pons demonstrates that "[s]iding with the underdogs and opposing the brutality of force is the opposite of fascism. The map of shadows needs not exist anymore."[xiii]

Although the filmmaker stays clear of anti-Francoist commentaries, his initial - and final - images speak for themselves. What has made the screened urban exposé so effective is Pons' tireless fusion of past and present, reality and fiction which, all in all, resembles postmodern reality where the past is never quite relegated to the past. Rather, "history is a palimpsest, and culture is permeable to time past, time present, and time future" (Hassan 1987, 88).

[xiii] Barcelona (un mapa) Barcelona (A Map), Spain, 2007, *Andy's Film World*. Retrieved from www.andysfilmworld.blogspot.com.au

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Sense of Place in an Inner City: Insights from "The End of the World"

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Abstract

Understanding cities is like understanding metaphors: one needs to engage in a search for the common ground below the surface. Although substantial work in the field of cultural studies has scrutinized metropolitan contexts, when discussing the global, we seem to have overlooked inner cities as part and parcel of that totality. The wave of increasingly profuse intercultural contact raised by instability, transgression of borders or new communication flows, has unquestionably disrupted traditional forms of place-based identity. In such context of blurred borders and permanent intersections, the present study aims to explore the "low-key" idiosyncrasies that shape cultural identity in the inner city of Gálvez, Santa Fe, Argentina, in an attempt to devise tools for the creation of politics of co-presence in this particular context. Inkeeping with this quest, the analysis of field data on the role of social forces in the creation of social space, (namely schools and educators, social institutions, cultural managers, and municipal governance), reveals the existence of multiple paths to strengthen people-place bonding. In this light, these findings should eventually contribute to model interventions to empower social actors to resist the idea of, as Robert Frost (1914) puts it, "mending walls" to foster social conviviality. Ultimately, the challenge of real-life urbanity, regardless of its urban form, appears to imply unveiling the bonds that foster a strong sense of belonging and the mutual recognition of the presence of alterity that may lead to the actual possibility of co-development.

Keywords: inner cities, people-place bonding, politics of co-presence, co-development.

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Introduction

In today´s world, the constant flow of information, languages or people contribute to the construction of a global framework of interaction. However, the post modern paradox precisely evolves around the idea of an increasingly "borderless" world for some, but a "fenced world" for others. In the light of globalization, a "borderless world" is a concept of that implies that goods, services, information, technology, and capital migrate from nation to nation through their borders.Yet, many people nowadays sustain that the notion of a "borderless world" is more dream than reality. In fact, 65 countries have already erected barriers along their international borders, whose pursposes are to curb human trafficking, illegal migration or smuggling.

Following Clifford (1997), our post-modern world "is a complex place that navigates among permanent tensions between the familiar that occurs at the end of the earth and the oddity that simply takes place round the corner". In this respect, we should refer to the impact of information and communication technologies, which allow us to take invisible leaps from one country to another without even noticing the enormous distances that are overpassed. In effect, this state of virtual living in many places at the same time, paradoxically deprives us of the possibility of being in the here and now.The advance of social media, the prevalence of virtuality and its impact on the distribution of information worldwide, undoubtedly constitutes a challenge to how we define place and alternatively, what we think about cities and ourselves in them. The reality of the present situation, then, suggests that in such context of blurred borders and permanent intersections, traditional forms of place-based identity have been disrupted.

The currently developing field of Urban Culture Studies embraces the city as a kaleidoscopic scenery for human experience. So disturbing and complex is the reality of a city that it has become the object of interest for researchers and practitioners from a number of disciplines, namely: sociology, anthropology, history, lingüistics, photography, to mention but a few. In fact, it is through their inter-disciplinary conversations on the city that it may be possible to gain deeper insight into the essence of city life. However, one of the assumptions of the present study is that the cultural researcher´s task implies the drive to submerge oneself in the tangled reality of a city; its true nature being difficult to comprehend just by observing the surface. It is at this point that the idea of the city as a metaphor becomes appropriate for the problematization of the sociocultural complexity of urban forms. In fact, Urban Culture Studies engage the different shades of urban colour from its physical environment into other physical or nonphysical worlds in the memories, perceptions, emotions or even sounds that are reflected in the lifeways, or cultural forms that emerge within cities.Why, then, are cultural researchers so intrigued, obsessed, and fascinated by cities? The answer might be that "still, for most people, the town or city they are born in is the one that will shape their lives and become the stage set of their hopes and aspirations" (Worpole, 1992).

Although there is substantial work in the field of Urban Culture Studies concerning metropolitan contexts, when discussing urban forms, researchers seem to have overlooked inner cities as part and parcel of that totality. In this context, the purpose of the present study is twofold: to explore the "low-key" idiosyncrasies that shape cultural identity in the inner city of Gálvez, Santa Fe, Argentina, and to analyze field

data on the role of social forces in the creation of social space, (namely schools and educators, social institutions, cultural managers, and municipal governance), with the purpose of exploring multiple paths to strengthen people-place bonding. If citizens´ idiosyncracies and cultural activities are the medium for the creation of representational spaces, then the exploration of the nature of their bonds with urban settings, specifically an inner city, may generate tools for the creation of politics of co-presence. Our basic assumption is that there is a correlation between asset strength of the city of Gálvez and sense of place of its residents.Another assumption the present study will try to verify is whether there is a co-relation between levels of participation of citizenship and sense of place.

Literature Review

To comprehend the notion of "sense of place", we should first focus on the definition of the concept of space. "Whereas space is open and seen as an abstract expanse, place is a particular part of that expanse which is endowed with meaning by people" (Madanipour, 2001pp. 158). Following Tuan (1977), "place comes into existence when humans give meaning to a part of the larger, undifferentiated space". The process of nomination (i.e. the act of mentioning by name) of a given location can be said to differentiate it from the undefined (unnamed) space that surrounds it. Place, seen in this light, is seldom an entity that encompasses fixed meanings, on the contrary, it offers grounds for permanent negotiation of meanings.

In sharp antithesis with the notion of anthropological place is the concept of "non-place". Developed by French theorist Marc Augé (1993), this notion refers to generic, anonymous and temporary locations where people tend to be "in transit". In this globalized world, the proliferation of travel has produced an abundance of such spaces where people spend some time moving around, waiting or consuming, rather than inhabiting specific places. They are locations of convenience, transition, and consumerism such as airports, undergrounds or bus stations. In other words, "if a place is defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place" (Augé, 1993).

Further, Relph (1976) introduces the concept of placelessness and describes it as mutually constitutive with sense of place. In his view, settings which do not have any distinctive personality or sense of place belong to this category. He asserts that "when places cannot be culturally recognized, they suffer from lacking a sense of place; in this case people are faced with placelessness" (Relph, 1976).

As the construction of meaning is social, locations that are recognizable for their intense "sense of place" have a strong identity and character that is deeply felt by local inhabitants and visitors. For quite a long time, different terms were used to explain this notion. Alternatively, concepts like "character of place" and "spirit of place" or "topophilia" have been used to refer to the notion of sense of place.

The term "topophilia", for instance, was used by Tuan (1974) to describe the existing remarkable bonds between people and the physical settings or, in other words, to mean "love of place". Another concept that has been used to refer to the notion of sense of place is the idea of "lifeworld", i.e. "the culturally defined spatio-temporal

setting or horizon of everyday life" (Buttimer, 1976, in The Dictionary of Human Geography, 2000, pp. 449) which refers to the interplay of any individual person with the places and environment experienced in his/her ordinary life.

In fact, the term sense of place has been assigned multiple layers of meaning. To some, it is an intrinsic characteristic that some geographic places have, but others seem to lack. For other researchers, the discussion of the notion of sense of place is associated with the multiple ways in which people relate to places, at the level of perception, emotion and feeling. In this perspective, a pervading "sense of belonging" may arise, a vital bond that brings people and places together. When people experience the sense of belonging, "they are not only familiar with the place but they are emotionally connected with it; they distinguish and respect the symbols of the place" (Shamai, 1991). A sense of belonging seems to be experienced by people when certain qualities of a place (or "genius loci") foster a sense of authentic human attachment, rootedness and satisfaction with a spatial setting. The notion of "attachment" relates to the unique emotional connection between people and lived places (Altman, 1992). In fact, this concept has been extensively explored by researchers due to the fragilisation of people-place bonding in the context of globalisation, increased mobility, and environmental issues that threaten the existence of places dear to us (Relph, 1976; Sennet, 2000). It can be said that the main characteristic of attachment is the desire to keep proximity towards the object of attachment, or, in the words of Jorgensen & Stedman (2005), the notion of "place dependence". The focus lies in the effort of the individual to make this place as much of 'his/her own', to transform it into something as personal as possible.The place is meaningful and significant to people; it has unique identity and character to its inhabitants. They exhibit high degrees of involvement with the place, take on active roles and develop positive beliefs and emotions towards it that reflect their "place sensitivity", alloting to it "home identity" (Layder, 1993).

The connection betweeen identity and place attachment has been widely examined (Hernández, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace y Hess, 2007; Williams, 2008), yet it should be acknowledged that the relationship between the two concepts still remains obscure. Lewicka, (2011) and Scannell & Gifford, (2010) describe place attachment as the social ties people maintain with places, reinforcing the multi-dimensional character of the definitions by Altman & Low (1992). From a psychological perspective, place attachment describes "a strong affective bond that people develop towards a certain place where they tend to remain, feel comfortable and safe" (Hidalgo y Hernández, 2001, p. 274).

It is widely acknowledged that studies concerning place attachment are directly associated with community research. It is not surprising, then, that there should be an overlap between place attachment and sense of community (Kasarda y Janowitz, 1974; McMillan y Chavis, 1986). McMillan & Chavis (1986), on their part, defined the "sense of community" as "a sense of belonging, security, interdependence, mutual trust and commitment to the satisfaction of the needs of the other members of the community". Precisely, Long & Perkins (2007) exploring the concept of the "sense of community", produced a scale that includes measures like the number of people known in one´s own community, how they are influenced and what kind of feelings are experienced towards Others.

What makes a good place to live?

Following Lefebvre´s (1991) notion of representational spaces, we may analyse the process of the symbolic construction of place as lived by city dwellers through images that are influenced by a two-way process between the observer and the observed. This interplay requires the observer to select, organize, and endow with meaning what he/she sees. However, if we associate "sense of place" with personality, it is undeniable that there is much more to a city than its "character". The value of a city can also be related to its physical and spatial characteristics, which, in consonance with less tangible representations, contribute to create an image of the city. In fact, there are "public images" of cities constructed on the basis of the representations of a significant number of social actors and, although each picture is individual and personal, "yet it approximates the public image, which, in different environments, is more or less compelling, more or less embracing."(Lynch ,1960). Consultants usually advise cities to begin branding by cataloguing their strategic assets. Then, which are the attributes that city dwellers value? The literature suggests a number of qualities that are "the object of desire" for cities around the world:

a-**Legibility:** In a city that is articulate and readable, cityscape can be easily grasped as a consistently logical pattern. Wayfinding in such a place is an easy task because locations have an identity of their own, there are plenty of landmarks and orientation cues, not only for tourists but for citizens, as well.

b-**Fit:** The fit of a place reflects how well it suits the behaviour and customs of its inhabitants. It is a relational concept that binds spatial form and quality of living of a place with local idiosyncracies. Urban planners observe elements such as noise levels, lighting, tree density, timing, or even the density of visible stars at night when they consider making interventions in the urban setting. The point is that there is an interplay between these atributes and temperament and culture. Thus, the perception of the sense of a particular place depends on how city dwellers perceive the urban setting "respects" their essence, their idiosyncracies, their daily lives.

c-**Accessibility:** There is general consensus on the fact that one of the special advantages of cities is the open, unrestricted access they can provide. In fact, transportation and communications are central assets of an urban area. When transportation infrastructure offers a circulation system that is multi-modal, it definitely brings added value to users. This notion is consitent with the idea of making the places where we live into "destinations". In addition, cities which make consistent efforts to transform their settings into barrier-free spaces for the elderly and for people with disabilities are said to be accessible. Such policies imply making goods and services available and promoting a market of assistive devices. Building standards, for instance, are to adhere to universal design standards, which aim at designing products and spaces in a way that they can be used by the widest range of people possible.

d-**Education:** "A city with educated people where access to culture and to high-quality educational programs is guaranteed" (Puig, n.d.). Equal access to quality education and lifelong learning are pursued by recognising, in the first place, that education is a human right. Taking actions to redress asymmetries and to provide the best formative programs is empowering people to participate fully in society, to boost their self-esteem and, ultimately, to improve their quality of life.

e- **Multiculturality:** A plural city is a place where diversity is not only respected but considered an asset. The degree of openness or welcomeness, i.e. how permeable the community is to all sorts of people from all walks of life is, following Puig (n.d.), one of the indicators of success for a city. Yet, it is undeniable that in this "borderless world" the presence of alterity is often felt to be threatening. Levinas (1969) accounts for the disruption that the presence of the "stranger" may produce affecting settled people´s sense of "being at home with oneself" (Levinas, 1969, quoted in Chambers, 1998:35). The truth is that while we are trapped by fearful responses to alterity, we miss the richness of intercultural experiences.

f- **Health and Vitality:** Such a place ensures equal access to health services and related facilities, promotes decent living conditions and prevents social exclusion. Yet, the notion of urban health may encompass other aspects of city life, including cleanliness, low or inexistent levels of corruption, low crime rates, affordability, or the necessary touch of city buzz. Residents who have a strong sense of the community usually see their city as a caring environment, which could be leveraged by promoting opportunities for people to build social connections around (service) projects or by encouraging participation in civic matters.

g- **Imageability:** "Image ability" is that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong vividly identified image in any given observer. From the urban planner´s viewpoint, the shape and arrangement of a setting contains elements that are used to construct people´s mental image of a city. Lynch (1960) mentions, for instance, paths, edges, districts, nodes or landmarks. However, Lynch´s view of the concept of image is much more profound. In fact, it can be explained as "a picture especially in the mind", a sentimental combination between objective city image and subjective human thoughts. Therefore, the specific, physical environmental image of a place can be totally different from the different perspective of observers, which relate to attributes of structure and identity. When this imageability produces a visualization of the city that is embraced by all stakeholders, it becomes a brand.

h-**Participation:** A city which encourages citizens´ involvement in public matters, ensures the removal of barriers to equal participation in civic life and leisure activities. Signs of a participatory society can be found in residents' commitment to their community through volunteerism and the construction of social networks between residents in NGOs. or other kinds of organisations.

i- **Uniqueness:** Another critical asset, though not easily achieved, is community distinctiveness. This impalpable quality of "oneness"does not only relate to the physical outlook of cities but also to the disposition of a community. It is connected with the spirit of a culture; the invisible emotional forces that inform beliefs, customs, or practices of a given social group.Thus, uniqueness lies in the ethos of the place and is said to be the goal of city branding.

j-**Innovation, expression and art:** A city where people can make contributions from their neighbourhoods, innovating in different fields such as the arts, technologies or social work is expressive and *alive*. Endowing the city with a voice of its own (a voice that nowadays can be broadcast and also *found* in social media), fostering creative collaboration, setting up "networks of doers", giving support to civic organizations may seem like an audacious plan, yet they are the tools that these fascinating times of

transformation and permanent change require. Such a city is a representational space (Lefebvre, 1991) where entrepreneurs take action and artists leave marks of "the inexpresable" in the public setting. This is a city where memory is alive and city dwellers embrace it through rituals, festivities, parades and multiple means of expression.

Method

The very essence of ethnographic qualitative work requires that the researcher systematically uses the senses, to reflect on the data gathered and analysed. If, as we have already suggested, understanding cities is like understanding metaphors, one needs to engage in a search for the common ground below the surface. Thus, the way to go about the task of "reading between the lines" of a city is to scout the city streets, sensing its pulse, undercovering its forms of experience. This "expedition" will, then, eventually consist of reconstructing such experiences from ethnographically collected data of actual human conduct, which includes photographic documents, drone images, opinion polls with residents, interviews with authorities and records from direct observation of the urban setting. It should be noted that 250 subjects were involved in the polls conducted, in even gender groups, within the age-range of 40-50 and belonging to middle-class socio-economic level.

Findings

The study found that certain factors are crucial in creating sense of place, namely,"emotional ties with family and other residents, opportunities for socializing, city fit and the city's openness to all kinds of people". The study revealed a high proportion of residents whose relatives and best friends live in the community, which definitely contributes to the strengthening of emotional ties and sense of attachment to the place. Respondents noted they saw their city as a place where "people care about each other" and create bonds "informally" in face-to-face interactions or the many social community events available where "it is easy to connect with people".The data also pinpoint that the most strongly attached residents (70% of interviewees) are more likely to want to stay in their current communities. Moreover, this is true for college graduates and other productive residents, who decide to return to their birthplace to raise their children in a more "peaceful" and "financially viable" environment.

The availability of parks, playgrounds, and trails makes the city fit for the idiosyncracies of its inhabitants. Following Blagovesta (2013), "besides lending themselves to people as a possibility for recreation, parks could serve as an active social space and locus of personal emotional attachment". Green areas appeared as meaningful, fully lived spaces that connect people; indicators of quality of living. As in many other inner cities in the area, effects of political and economic changes gave birth to places such as abandoned rail lines and old industrial warehouses. In Gálvez, they were reborn as green parks that lie in contrast to the iron framework of the pedestrian rail crossing that joins the two halves of the city. However, respondents were less likely to give positive ratings to the overall beauty or physical setting of the community, especially in what concerned order and cleanliness. Gálvez is evidently beautiful in an aerial shot of a drone, yet, surprisingly, not in the eyes of its citizens. Evidently, visual aesthetics of cityscapes are far from universal.

In people´s perceptions, the city´s permeability to different sorts of people, including families with young children, minorities, migrants and college graduates was high, which, for many, posed an advantage in the sense that communities that are more open to diversity seem to be better able to compete for talent. However, and despite the cultural plurality exibited by the respondents, the data also confirmed the inexistence of regulations, state programs or strategies to include migrants effectively. Schools expressed their concern for the lingüistic barriers, and for the absence of state policies that should contemplate intercultural contact. They also revealed that most children were adapting well, despite differences in the adaptation patterns across nationalities. In all cases, teachers manifested consistent interest in avoiding acculturation and promoting effective inclusion of the students in school life. They expressed they usually embarked on educational "expeditions" around the city to see it afresh, with new eyes. Yet, they noted that neither governance nor cultural centres were equipped to welcome students and cater for their learning needs. In addition, residents rated the educational services in their community higher than those of comparable communities in the region and remarked educators´ active involvement in cultural life.

With regard to imageability, respondents indicated that it was hard for them to assign a clearly delineated image to the city, although during the interviews they consistently mentioned a composite of characteristics contributing to character which also identify other small cities. In fact, inner cities in this area do have particular attributes of their own, namely, the friendly small town feel, the warm, open, welcoming people, the green spaces, the train station that divides the city in two, the impact of agrarian activities on economy, to mention but a few.

The results did not verify the initial assumption that there is a co-relation between levels of participation of citizenship and sense of place. The majority of the subjects interviewed informed they were not involved in any kind of organization, (only 20% participated actively in sports clubs or NGOs). What could be assumed, then, was that high participation rates might have no co-relation with sense of place. This was verified by conducting a cross examination of their answers to the two drivers (participation and sense of place).

Sense of place, however, did prove to be higher when residents agreed that their communities provide the social offerings and aesthetics they enjoy. In fact, social offerings constitute places for people to meet and foster a sense of community. Arts and culture give people new experiences, enjoyable moments and well-being. There is a lot of arts and culture available in Gálvez, and people take part in them fairly actively. Cultural activity is an important medium for the production of relational space, then the role of artists becomes a crucial one in the creation of city spaces that are either welcoming or alienating.

Concerning legibility, the drone images captured evidence of the lack of readability of Gálvez. Its layout appears to be quite inarticulate, which makes wayfinding a complex task because there are insufficient landmarks and orientation cues, not only for tourists but also for city dwellers. In addition, although the city is quite accesible from the outside (paved roads and routes are available), there are just a few assistive devices like ramps or barrier-free spaces for the disabled or elderly people. Moreover, most public buildings, fail to comply with accessibility and usability standards.

The study also explored a governance policy concerning accessibility and image which intended to imprint a new outlook of downtown Gálvez: a new barrier-free urban image. The "Renovation of the Central Area" project was launched by Municipal Governance and approved by the City Council. The regulation sustains that "the absence of public areas like the one created next to the local church accounts for the need to rescue and transform public space into a social meeting place and a site for cultural expression", justifying the project on the basis of "attaining general well-being, aesthetic good and the safeguard of landscape image" (Ord. N°3876/12). The project was based on the *need* of a more pedestrian-oriented central area that should facilitate walking to shops and parks. The proposal included paving streets adjacent to the church with cobblestones and leaving open gutters, except for the ones next to the area of the bars, which were covered to gain extra space for bar tables. The new pavements were elevated above the level of the other streets and the central square was re-designed. The Ordinance also enforced the removal of billboards and awnings on the streets of the central area and it regulated the features of the sidewalks so that they would eventually become uniform in material, level and design. The removal of shop-awnings, the most controversial issue, was based on the notion of "visual clutter"; an aesthetic issue which refers to the impact of pollution that impairs one's ability to enjoy a view by creating harmful changes in the natural environment.

The final outcome of the renovation has rendered the central area a clean place, but a space that is only "on display". The streets look renewed, yet, at the same time, they were stripped of their true atmosphere. Citizens, especially shop-owners affected by the measure, expressed their strong rejection of the policy. Social media-users immediately reacted criticizing this idea as insubstantial and harmful as it implied the destruction of city identity marks they valued.The renovation of the square, although considered "beautiful and modern" produced a displacement of its users to a park near the railway. Interviewees noted that there seems to be a mismatch between their perception of how the city can be "unique" and governance policies concerning urban planning. Finally, it might be pertinent to recall Relph´s (1976) argument about the fact that "designers who ignore the meanings that places bring to people's mind, try to destroy authentic places" and in doing so, produce culturally unidentifiable environments that are similar anywhere, which eventually turns them into inauthentic places".

Conclusions

The present study has revealed there is a correlation between asset strength of the inner city of Gálvez and sense of place. In fact, it could be generalized that the creation of inhabitants´ representational space in the city of Gálvez relies on their strong emotional ties with family and friends, opportunities for socializing, city fit and their appropriation of public spaces. Most highly attached residents share a vision of their community that recognises alterity and is open to different people. An authentic sense of belonging is said to be fostered in periodical celebrations, festivals and other cultural events; as social offerings constitute important factors to promote cultural interaction, a sense of pride and rootedness to the spatial setting. Communities where people experience art and culture as part of their lived-space generate a sense of well-being that makes the city fit and an enjoyable place to live. As sense of place is produced relationally, the role of social forces in the strengthening of people-place bonds should not be overlooked. Even though direct participation in social institutions

or organisations of different nature does not seem, in the era of numbing virtual consumption, to be a driving force, more indirect but equally effective forms of residents´ involvement have emerged. Finally, the challenge of real-life urbanity these days may be to engender a critical debate amongst decision makers in the light of the findings of urban culture studies. Governance plays a decisive role in people-place bonding, however there is evidence of certain incongruity between the residents´perception of the image of the city and governance policies concerning urban planning and strategic development. It is expected, then, that at least in the longer run, decision-makers will feel inspired to gain a new awareness of the potential of cities to support and nurture those features that make their communities unique and to foster in their people a sense of place that grows deep roots in their cities and, eventually, social conviviality.

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The Trading of Individual Investors with Out Knowledge of Law Related to the Stock Market

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Abstract
The purposes of this research was to study the individual investors who almost never study the new securities and exchange act (fifth amendment) of 2016 which identified that criminal offense by notification distribute false information or endorsement or mistake text declaration on financial position operating result stock trading or involving information to issuing company that effected to stock market or making decision in exchange market because of individual investors always communicate through online social media. Individual investors who posting false information that lead to positive or negative in exchange investment increase or decrease share prices all those above statement, individual investors could be commit a crime. Hence, should be give knowledge on the new securities and exchange act (Fifth Amendment) of 2016 to individual investors for avoiding to be a legally criminal offender.

Keywords: The Securities and Exchanges Act (Fifth Amendment) of 2016, Individual Investors, Investment Exchange

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Introduction

Financial market is an important mechanism in the country because it is the source of financial assets between those who want to avail the fund to its maximum benefits. Thus, it is absolutely necessary that the personnel concerned in this industry must possessed a good knowledge of the process. Character and structure of financial markets include investment analysis and the risk of investment in various stock exchange to manage the security group be performed.

Another type of intermediary is raising fund by financial transfer. It is a popular because the process of raising money is by external sources. Also this method enables investor to avail of a long term funding in a very low interest. The one who invest in financial assets can raise funds by business and needs funding to create financial assets such as issuance of promissory notes, debentures and common share.

Raising funds through market is different from raising funds though financial institutions. Financial institution will act as intermediaries to collect investment money transfer to business the institution will receive the difference of cost and income interest including service charge. In the meantime, raising money by financial market the fund will be received and used by the investors immediately. This is in practical raising funds through market collects lower interest funds than the financial institution

In general when the investors availed the money they needed they normally used them for business for the return of their investment. Thus is it said that investment through financial system is limited to the potentials of the fund raising partners if the valuable assets will be used for its maximum benefits.

Financial institution plays an important role in the stock exchange of Thailand. The government seriously pay attention by definition guide lines operation online stock exchange during the National Economic and Social Development (B.E 2510 . 2514) and formally establish a stock market by securities of Thailand BE 2517. The objective is to be the central trading hub in Thailand. Also to promote savings and support to people who are engage in business ownership and industrial institution in Thailand. It also aims to protect the interest of all parties involved in the market

Capital market plays an important role in the financial system as a source of low cost funding for business. In the past , capital market development, they focused on secondary market as the main trading market the first market development for a new securities offer to the people includes capital market care. During that period, capital market is under many agencies such as Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Commerce and Bank of Thailand. These agencies operate in continuous redundancy of unity and development while there was a rapid increase of capital market .To promote for the growth and development that could benefit the raising of fund and investment of the first and second market including overall national economy capital market transaction are subject to templates law and provision to prevent exploitation, so since December 12, 2559 BE

2559 became an independent organization to oversee the development and define operational policy of capital market.

Due to a non-transparent behavior of the board of executives where they use the business in their self-interest like releasing fund to a near relative and indulge in high-risk projects, the investment stock market 's shareholders benefit were damaged as well as the business sector. This was been an important factor that contributed to weaken the strength of the business sector and national economy as well. It was not only observed that the lack of caution of bank of loan institution caused the collapse of financial system of the country and created enormous effect. Because of the corruption, all the taxpayer will be the one to bear the burden. The employee or creditor who have of good company governance contributed to these corruption and therefore become a national problem that the sector must pay attention to solve the problem. The best way the shareholders are taking advantage is to use inside trading or fail information for the profit. Most individual investor who obtained false information are making decision whether to invest in a stock market in a positive or negative way.

Individual investors who published false information on social media online committed a criminal offense. The effect of this in the company who issued stock securities falls on its trading price performance. According to Stock and Exchange Security Act No.5 BE 2559 sector 240 which prohibits any false information to clients. Investors that whoever violates the law will be sent for imprisonment for not more than 2 years or fine of five hundred thousand (500,00) or 2 million baht (2,000,000) ,while the person who is responsible for securities operation of the company will be imprisoned for more than five years and pay a fine of one million(1,000,000) to five million baht (5,000,000).

Research Objectives

1. To be able to know out if individual investors have a knowledge on the prohibition of giving false information.
2. To be able to study if individual investors have some knowledge of the Criminal Security Act No. 57 BE 2557 Sec.240 accommodation Class 296
3. to find out if investors have or have no criminal offense under Security Act No 5 BE 2559 Sec. 240 Acc clause 296

Research Framework
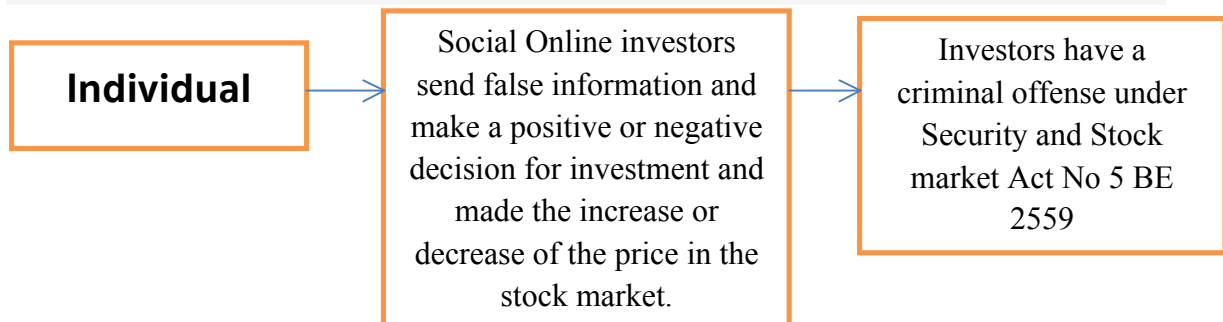
The diagram illustrates the concept of research

Research Area

Study the collection of data in the stock market from individual investors in Thailand.

Research Methodology

1.This is a quantitative research for data collection and analysis
2. Bangkok will the selected area of study.

Discussions

1.Thre are 17.8% individual who responded that they do not know the internal information or false information
2.92.5% individuals send their data to social media account
3.Individual investors who were not aware of the Stock market Securities Act No 5 BE 2559 section 240 amounted to 77.6%
4.There are 65.4% individual investors who responded that individual must be educated and be given knowledge on Stock market Security Act no 5 BE 2559 section 240.

Suggestion

1.Individual investors should be advised to obtain proper information before making an investment.
2.Individual investors using online media should be advised to obtain information on the Criminal offense involved in Stock market Security Act before making any investment.
3.The Securities Trading Agents should provide knowledge on the Law of Investment.

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How Do Cities Promote Online Their Investment Potential? Comparative Analysis of Investment Promotion Websites of Barcelona, Manchester, Wrocław, and Lublin

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The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2017
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
Investment potential is one of the key assets of the city that are used to develop the local economy. Hence, cities compete against each other in a global market to attract investments. They use many sophisticated marketing tools, both offline and online. However, currently, the influence of the Internet channels of communication, including social media, on everyday life and work is bigger and bigger. Accordingly, the online sources of information about the city play a very important role in the decision-making process regarding choosing the proper location for the investment. Therefore, the inward investment promotion websites of four leading European cities concerning the foreign direct investment strategy (fDi Magazine: European Cities and Regions of the Future 2016/17): Barcelona, Manchester, Wrocław, and Lublin, were analysed comparatively using modified Website Attributive Evaluation System. The purpose of the research was to identify common features of these websites and to indicate the crucial information that must be communicated towards potential investors and business analysts to draw their attention, thereby increase the chance of the city to be chosen as the investment location. The analysis showed that all four cities' websites are, apart from the significant differences in graphic layout, very similar concerning presented content. Moreover, the comparative approach to communication with investors is clearly visible. Assuming the cities' expertise in investor service, proven by the highest positions in the strategy for attracting investors rankings, it indicates that it could be possible to design perfectly transferable scheme of the city's inward investment promotion website.

Keywords: place branding, city marketing, investment marketing, investment potential, website, business

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Introduction

In the 21st century, global economy's development is driven by the cities, which are the centres of cultural and social life, tourism, and entrepreneurship. Apart from the locations which merely base on tourist assets, the main fundamental of local growth is business potential. Cities are dependent on investments, both domestic and foreign firms. Globalised world demand from them to compete against each other to convince the most progressive companies to locate right there and to acquire the most prominent investments. To achieve these goals, cities promote their investment potential both offline and online.

This paper aims to answer the question how do cities promote online their investment potential. The primary tools of online city marketing – inward investment promotion websites – of four leading European cities concerning the foreign direct investment strategy: Barcelona, Manchester, Wrocław, and Lublin (fDi Magazine, 2016) were analysed comparatively. The reason was to indicate the elements that compose the model site and to point out crucial information that must be communicated towards potential investors and business analysts. The method used was based on the Website Attributive Evaluation System, which was adjusted to this kind of business promotion sites. The main idea was to check if it is possible to design perfectly transferable model of the city's inward investment promotion websites by the current best practices, or the ways of promoting city's investment potential are entirely different.

Importance of the online promotion tools

Competition between cities to gain investment is constantly increasing. Both domestic and foreign investment have a substantial impact on an urban economy. Hence, they are one of the most crucial factors of future development of the city. Therefore, the more high-quality investments are located in the city, the faster city's budget grows and the quality of life increases. As the global economy is becoming more open, with less interrupted capital and trade flow, cities' role in the modern economy is rapidly growing. One of the greatest examples of this phenomenon is the position of cities in the European Union and precisely in the Single European Market (Metaxas, 2010). With rather similar economic conditions of the countries in the EU and with particular financial incentives limited by the European Union law, the business offer created by the urban regions is often the most important factor that provides the added value that is decisive in the investment process. Cities form their business offers by having influence over local taxes, infrastructure, industrial estates and offices development, quality of life, and overall attractiveness of the city. On that account, the real competition during the process of investment location choice is between the offers provided by the cities, and so it requires certain forms of investment promotion of the city to have its candidacy included in the investor's location shortlist.

The rapid development of information and communications technology allowed cities to promote their business offer in many new ways using sophisticated Internet tools (Makombe & Kachwamba, 2011). It is eminently important in the times of broad access to the Internet and the diffusion of mobile communication devices. The time spent online is notably longer each year. Now, the knowledge of the city's economic situation and its advantages and disadvantages is available regardless of place and time for anyone who needs to get it. It means that the cities' investment promotion is

not limited only to personal selling during trade fairs and exhibitions, conferences, and bilateral meetings with the representatives of companies, and to advertising using traditional outdoor promotion or publishing printed point of sales materials (Wells & Wint, 2000). Hence, cities have a possibility to use online promotion tools, ex. websites, blogs, social media presence, or banner ads, for providing information to their target groups: entrepreneurs, business analysts, or representatives of trade organisations (Lozada & Kritz, 2007). It allows them to reach with information their target groups' members faster than their market competitors and finally to acquire the investment.

How do cities promote online their investment potential?

Tools of promotion

To point out the tools of online promotion used by cities to promote their investment potential and then to analyse comparatively inward investment promotion websites, I chose four leading European cities concerning the foreign direct investment (FDI) strategy, assuming that one of the factors of their success in terms of FDI is very efficient city marketing. According to the fDi Magazine (2016) European Cities & Regions of the Future 2016/2017, the best FDI strategy among major European cities has Barcelona, Spain; in the category of large European cities Manchester, UK, is in the lead; Wrocław, Poland, has the best FDI strategy of mid-sized European cities; and from the small European cities I chose Lublin, Poland, placed 3rd, because this is the city I live and work in and so I had started my research on the inward investment promotion of the cities with the case of Lublin.

According to these four cases, the tools of city online investment promotion can be divided into two groups regarding interactivity, interoperability, and the possibility for the active viewing of the content, which is exactly the Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 division. However, the basis of all online promotional activities is always the inward investment promotion website which provides all necessary information about the city's business offer. All remaining tools are embedded in the information and visual system of the website. These are Web 1.0 ones that limit the addressees to the passive viewing of content: newsletters, downloadable documents and reports, online document repositories, infographics, animations, and videos. On the contrary, Web 2.0 tools are interactive and allow two-way communication with the target of promotional messages (Florek, 2011). These are all social media platforms that are used by the cities in their investment marketing: LinkedIn and Twitter, which are the most important for business audiences, and Facebook, YouTube and SlideShare. They support sharing economic information about the city a lot more efficiently than Web 1.0 tools and, what is more, encourage the representatives of the target groups to react on all those information immediately, which provides very significant feedback to the marketer.

Website Attributive Evaluation System

In order to analyse comparatively inward investment websites of Barcelona, Manchester, Wrocław, and Lublin, the qualitative method of evaluating both technical and substantive elements of the websites. Hence, I based it on Website Attributive Evaluation System (WAES). WAES was developed by the Cyberspace Policy

Research Group (CyPRG) of University of Arizona and George Mason University in 1997 and was used to evaluate national-level public agency websites (La Porte et al., 2001).

WAES is a highly formalised evaluation instrument that uses simple binary criteria to build a nuanced picture of an organisation's transparency and interactivity in Web operations (CyPRG, 2012, Jan 29). Transparency and interactivity are measured by examining a website in terms of five clusters of attributes comprised of 45 specific criteria about web operation structure and functioning. Despite it is 20 years since WAES has been developed, it is not obsolete, and it is still used to evaluate both public and non-governmental organisations' websites (Marjak 2008; Porębski, 2011).

Modified WAES

Table 1: Modified Website Attributive Evaluation System

Modified Website Attributive Evaluation System		
Category	**Criterion**	**Scoring**
Informational Content	A1: agglomeration profile	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A2: business environment	Marked by 0 or 2.
	A3: transportation and access	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A4: quality of life/social environment	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A5: labour market	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A6: innovation and R&D potential	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A7: financial incentives	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A8: investment opportunities	Marked by 0 or 2.
	A9: administrative processes	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A10: strategic plans	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A11: country profile	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A12: comparison with other cities	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A13: testimonials	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A14: general info (news, events)	Marked by 0 or 1.
	A15: secondary resources	Marked by 0 or 1.
Agency information	B1: identity	Marked by 0 or 1.
	B2: contact information	Marked by 0 or 1.
	B3: personal contacts	Marked by 0 or 2.
	B4: corporate roles and support	Marked by 0 or 1.
	B5: social media presence	Marked by 0 or 1.
Content Quality	**C1: clarity of purpose**	Marked by 0 or 2.
	C2: credibility of information	Marked by 0 or 2.
	C3: currency of information	Marked by 0 or 2.
	C4: use of graphics	Marked by 0 or 1.
	C5: multilanguage	Marked by 0 or 1.
User interaction	D1: newsletter	Marked by 0 or 1.
	D2: Facebook	Marked by 0 or 1.
	D3: LinkedIn	Marked by 0 or 2.
	D4: Twitter	Marked by 0 or 1.
	D5: document and video hosting services	Marked by 0 or 1.
Technical	**E1: Responsive Web Design**	Marked by 0 or 2.
	E2: navigation ease	Marked by 0 or 2.
	E3: reading ease	Marked by 0 or 1.
	E4: web prominence	Marked by 0 or 1.

	E5: two-way communication	Marked by 0 or 1.
	E6: search engine	Marked by 0 or 1.
	E7: downloads	Marked by 0 or 2.
	E8: disability access	Marked by 0 or 1.
	E9: no add-ons	Marked by 0 or 1.
	E10: no errors	Marked by 0 or 1.

The method of comparative analysis of inward investment promotion websites is based on WAES by sharing its basic features: simplicity of binary criteria, division into categories of criteria, and objectivity, but the categories and criteria are adjusted to the specificity of this kind of sites. It is comprised of 40 specific criteria in five categories. The first category is Informational Content, and it describes the information about the business offer of the city provided to the target audiences in 15 selected criteria based on literature (Grieg-Gran & Edlund, 2008; Ilie, 2015; Kimelberg & Williams, 2015; Lataj, 2011) and personal experience. Next category is Agency Information, and its five criteria indicate if the agency responsible for the site is transparent, shares contact information, and actively communicates with its stakeholders. The third category, Content Quality, includes five criteria assessing the quality of the information provided in the prior two categories. The penultimate is User Interaction, which in five criteria indicates the most important elements that allow two-way communication with users of the website. The last one comprises ten technical elements that are the most important for well-designed, modern website.

The main difference between original and modified WAES is the Major Criteria concept. These are ten most crucial factors of success of the inward investment promotion website. To distinguish them from the others, they have doubled weighting. 'A2: business environment' and 'A8: investment opportunities' deliver information about the most prosperous economic sectors in the city and describe potential convenient ways of investment there. 'B3: personal contacts' allows the website's user to communicate with the person in the agency responsible for serving the specific inquiry directly. Three criteria from the Content Quality category are crucial for credibility and image of the whole website and, therefore, the agency itself. 'D3: LinkedIn' indicates the need of using social media and especially LinkedIn, which is considered as the most business social media platform nowadays. The last three technical major criteria are 'E1: Responsive Web Design', which is essential for mobile internet devices, 'E2: navigation ease' that is the most important factor of user experience, and 'E7: downloads' which allow the user to use provided information in forms of reports, infographics, data sheets, etc. also being offline. Concluding, website evaluated using Modified WAES can get maximum 50 points.

Comparative analysis of investment promotion websites of Barcelona, Manchester, Wrocław, and Lublin

Investment promotion website of Barcelona

Barcelona is considered as the leading European city regarding FDI strategy. However, its inward investment promotion website in not the best example of its kind. The biggest problem of Barcelona is very difficult navigation that actually guides user through three different sites:
meet.barcelona.cat/en/doing-business, w42.bcn.cat/web/en/, and

empresa.barcelonactiva.cat/empresa/en/. In spite of using so many pages, the amount of information presented is low and it is not always up to date. The site neither informs about investment opportunities, nor shares personal contacts of the agency's team members. Moreover, it is not responsive, so it hinders any access from mobile devices. Last but not least, Barcelona does not communicate any general business activities that take place in the city. Hence, Barcelona got a 31 score and just 10 out of 20 regarding Major Criteria. However, it is worth mentioning that the site includes very detailed secondary resources: key sectors folders and splendid 'Welcome to Barcelona' guide.
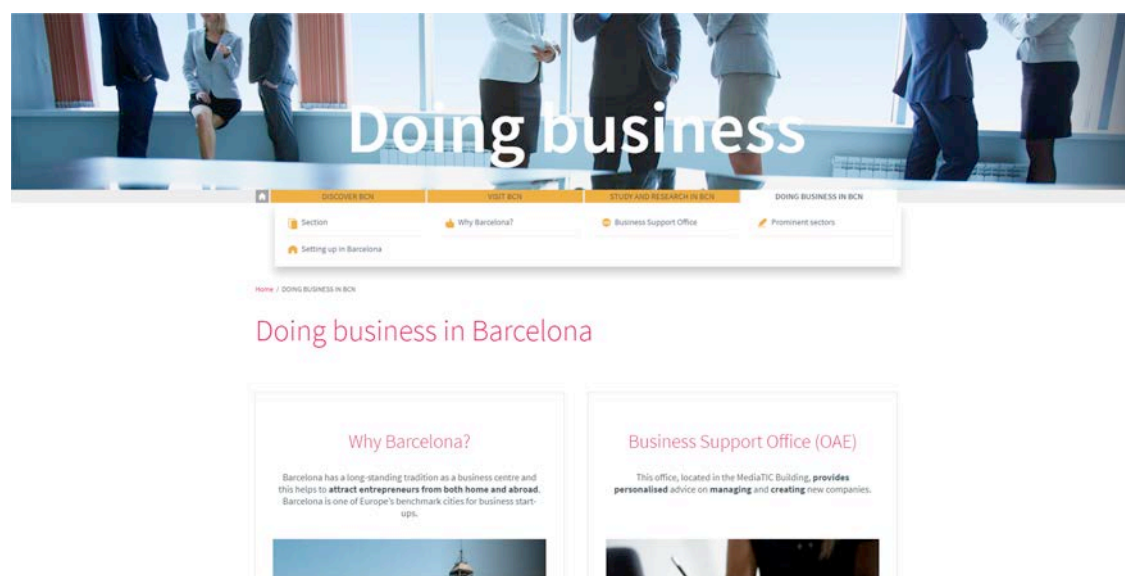
Figure 1: Website meet.barcelona.cat/en/doing-business

Investment promotion website of Manchester

Manchester's website is the newest of the four analysed ones, which is visible on the scorecard. It got 40 points and 18 out of 20 concerning Major Criteria – it lost two points on 'B3: personal contacts' criterion. Concluding, it is very well-designed modern, fully responsive website with excellent content quality, rich database of available properties and full business social media support. By the time of analysis, the site appeared to be still under construction, because popular among other sites, image-building 'testimonials' section was still empty.
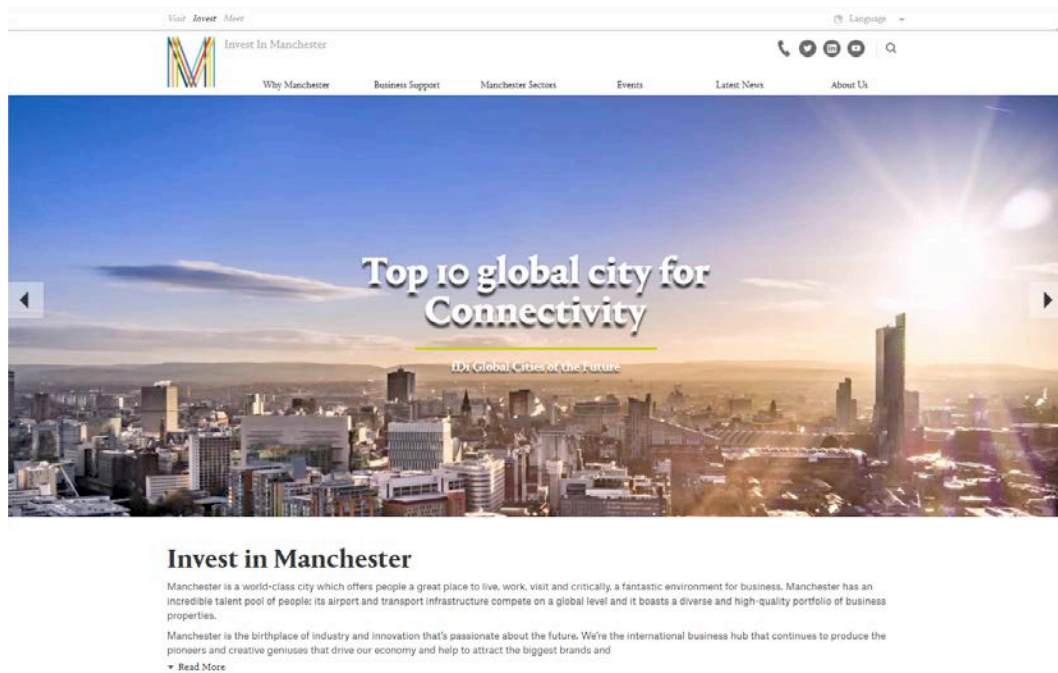
Figure 2: Website investinmanchester.com

Investment promotion website of Wrocław

Wrocław, the city in southwestern Poland, is one of the most rapidly developing cities in Poland and the European Union, thanks to its long-term FDI strategy. Its inward investment website is a large project of the municipal investment agency and JP Weber consulting firm. It results with the abundance of data presented on the website, but sometimes it is outdated. What is unusual, the site provides a very rich database of potential investment locations both with available suppliers. A characteristic feature of the website is that the general info from the city – news, events, and publications – covers most of the main page. According to the score, Wrocław achieved 38 points and 14 points from Major Criteria. The site is not responsive, does not provide personal contact information, and the data is not up-to-date, but these drawbacks were over-compensated with the complexity of information.
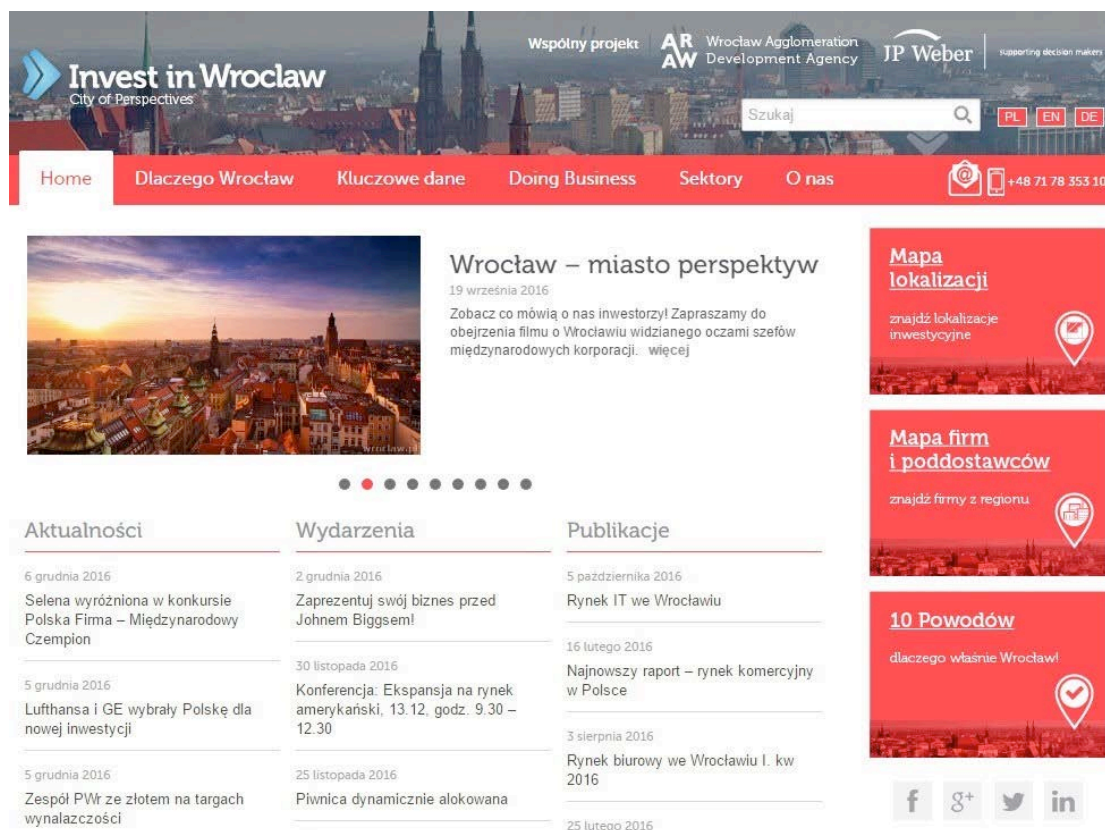
Figure 3: Website investinwroclaw.pl

Investment promotion website of Lublin

The site of Lublin – invest-in-lublin.com – is significantly visually different from the other three analysed sites. It has fully responsive block design, which works perfectly both on desktops and on mobile devices like smartphones and tablets. What is more, it does not have general agency contact info provided, but it is the only site that shows the list of staff dedicated to the attraction of investments and ways to communicate with them directly, which was considered as best practice by Lataj (2011, p. 74) and Ilie (2015, p. 19). Moreover, Lublin puts a strong emphasis on social media user acquisition from LinkedIn, SlideShare and Twitter. Hence, it scored 20 points in Major Criteria category, and overall it got 38 points, because of points losses for lack of on-site search engine, different language versions, and no general contact information, which was standard for the previous sites.
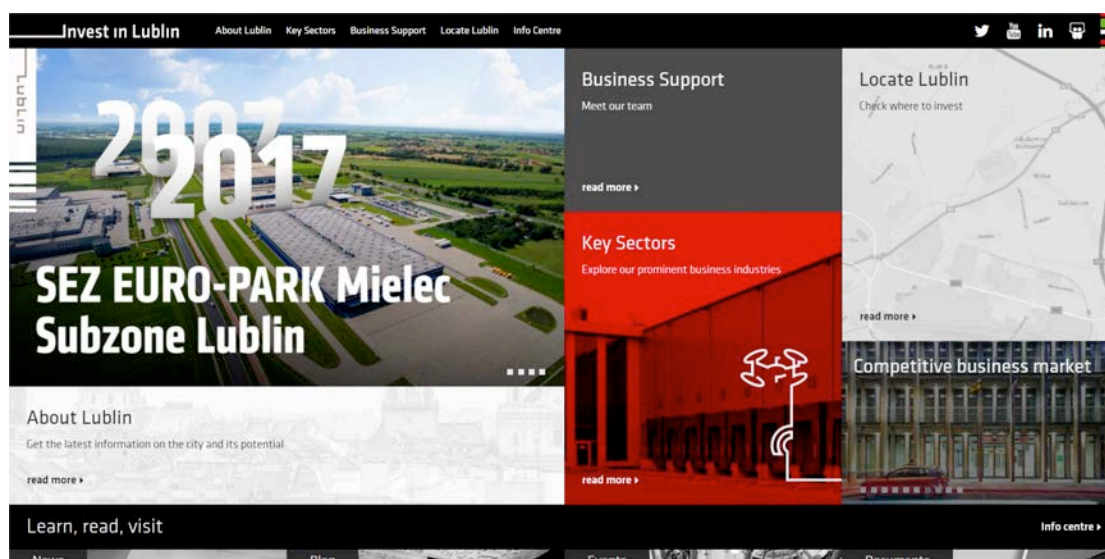
Figure 4: Website invest-in-lublin.com

Comparison of the four websites

Table 2: Website comparison

Category	Score	Barcelona	Manchester	Wrocław	Lublin
Informational Content [A]	max 17	8	12	**14**	12
Agency Information [B]	max 6	4	4	4	**5**
Content Quality [C]	max 8	6	**8**	6	7
User Interaction [D]	max 6	**5**	4	**5**	4
Technical [E]	max 13	8	**12**	9	10
Major Criteria:	**max 20**	10	18	14	**20**
Total score:	**max 50**	31	**40**	38	38

The results of comparative analysis of four inward investment websites are presented in Table 2. The site of Manchester achieved the highest overall score, and Lublin got the best results as the sum of Major Criteria points. However, the differences between the sites were not significant – there are a lot of similarities. They all provide very similar information categories about the city – they always consist of agglomeration profile, business environment, transportation and access, quality of life, and innovation and R&D potential. All sites use downloadable secondary information resources. On the other hand, they do not inform about the country profile, strategic plans, or they do not compare themselves with other cities. In the category of 'Agency Information', the only difference is the approach to personal contacts. All analysed websites have clear inward investment attraction purpose and provide credible information. The primary language is always English – for Lublin, it is even the only language used. All cities use social media services to interact with the representatives of their target groups. Only Wrocław uses Facebook for business communication, and only Barcelona uses the newsletter, which appears to be an obsolete tool of promotion now. Slightly more differences are in the technical category, where only two sites

scored in the criterion of Responsive Web Design: Manchester and Lublin. Also, just two of them uses on-site dynamic scripts allowing two-way communication. Finally, the analysis has diagnosed one general problem. The cities forget about disabled people in their online investment promotion. None of the sites is using even very simple disabled-friendly mechanisms like colour or text size adjusting.

Optimal model of the city's inward investment promotion website

The analysis has shown that there is a particular design of inward investment promotion website of a city. It consists of certain elements that exist on each of the analysed websites of the leading European cities regarding FDI strategy. On the basis of the analysis, it is possible to design an optimal model of this kind of website.

The model of city's inward investment promotion website should comprise information about agglomeration profile, business environment, transportation and access, quality of life, innovation and R&D potential, labour market, financial incentives, and investment opportunities. The agency responsible for investment promotion should be easy to identify and provide information about the corporate roles and support for possible investors and the staff with all necessary personal contact data. Moreover, it should be present in especially business social media – LinkedIn, Twitter – integrated into one system with the website. The content should be credible and up-to-date, graphics should be relevant, and the purpose of the site should be clear and focused on business needs. The primary operation language used on site must be English. According to the technical requirements, the model website should be easy to navigate and use thanks to Responsive Web Design, to find by search engines, and to read by using regular fonts. It should offer downloadable secondary materials and access for disabled users. Finally, the site must be add-on free and error free. This design will allow every city to build its own inward investment promotion website that answers the business needs and will help the city with all modern investment marketing activities.

Conclusion

Cities use online marketing tools to promote online their investment potential. The main form of this promotional activity is special investment promotion website supported by business social media presence and on-site downloadable materials. This kind of website consists of certain parts that are common to all cities. According to the four analysed websites, the most crucial information that must be communicated towards potential investors and business analysts includes agglomeration profile, business environment, transportation and access, quality of life, innovation and R&D potential, and the agency's business support.

The method used in the study to analyse comparatively the websites – modified WAES – may become a useful tool to evaluate their quality and structure. However, the criteria applied in the method should be confronted with prospective research of the importance of business location factors and the effectiveness of city investment marketing.

All compared websites have many common features in every analysed category. There is an evident similarity in the approach to building structure and content of investment promotion website. Assuming the cities' expertise in investor service,

proven by the highest positions in the strategy for attracting investors rankings, it indicates that it could be possible to design perfectly transferable scheme of the city's inward investment promotion website. On the other hand, the small research sample consisting of only four websites indicates the need to broaden the research to achieve more accurate results in designing an optimal model of the site.

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A Study of Multi-Agent Simulation in the Urban Transformation of Tamsui, Taiwan

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Abstract

Cities embed the parameters driven components, which have intention behind those physical embodiments. Based on the research of Cedric Price's urban planning operated by the concept of the dynamic system showed the interactions to reflect such intentions of the immediate neighbors, participants, and the other informational feedback loop. The bottom-up intelligence phenomenon becomes easy to be observed and highly accessible today, the up-date tendency or changing pattern can be easy to recognize by the planner or the other participants. The research uses multi-agent simulation to show the modeling process could become a useful tool to reduce the gap between different thought from politicians' anticipations or the decision-making person, planners, citizen, who never made a strong connection with each other and often ignored of the actual situations. The research gives the example of how the infrastructure projects constrains by the geological relationship and reflect at the redistribution of land use in Tamsui, the seaside district in northern New Taipei City. As new infrastructures projects planned, the new traffic network will regenerate and reshape the city by its strong impact. The MAS models of Tamsui will demonstrate this regeneration process and reveal the important insight of different effects by different agents. The model of data flow will show the stringiness of adaptable system in this area to suggest which some components play crucial role than the other and revealing important hidden factors.

Keywords: Data flow, bottom-up, parameters, Multi-Agent Simulation,

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Introduction

This paper, firstly, reviews the development of Cedric Price's design and planning as he had developed for the integrated education system with transportation interaction where the focus is on the allocation of population and improving employment issues. The dynamic urban planning model would be built accordingly and focused on the interactive components, which can introduce the agents based modeling and data visualization technics. Data visualization and interactive interface will take a great part to help decision-making process in the future, especially in the urban complex. It's will help designer and developer to understand and analyze how their strategy and implementation in the micro interaction level effect to the global of the whole city level. The process of making an agents model can help us to figure out the aggregative urban developing phenomenon from the complex individual behaviors highlight the advantage and disadvantage points of a political investment and development planning consequences. The knowledge of using models building technic is to raise the possible debate areas of decision makers to evaluate the different options. In the approach, the paper will question the main propose of some future strategy, which the government solutions did not reduce in order the achieve their main goal insufficiencies such as the requirements of some data monitor.

This paper will be divided into three parts. We explore Cedric Price's dynamic concept from review to analysis his urban planning project into an agent based model. Then, the same modeling procedures approaches one of his representation projects "Potteries Thinkbelt" to discuss of pros, cons and some insufficient information of the system. By extending the method of modeling tools, finally, we can benefit from the methodology for new kinds of urban development simulation tool to analyze the main issue and important factors of any new planning project. The paper will take Tamsui as example model.

From review to analysis of Cedric Price's urban planning projects

The research study through over 157 projects of his built or unbuilt architecture projects. It can be present of how his works transforming over time. The works can be divided into at least five periods, each period has a different focuses. By Review and analysis his projects, different system frameworks can represent in different types of simulation models[1].

1. The important concepts during the period 1954-1964 were represented by giving the variety of parameters and diverse activities, by New Aviary and Fun Palace
2. During the 1964-1967 projects, the communication and networks function was promoted. Project example like O.C.H. Feasibility Study (OCH)
3. Between 1967-1976, wireless and mobility functions in the cities were used in the following of projects: Atom and Detroit Think Grid
4. The technology of processor and self-organization concept was found in the project of "Generator" from1977 to 1988.
5. Strengthening the attraction, connection, and adaptation functions of objects in the city between 1988-2003 in the projects, such as "Magnet".

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[1] Chun-Jung Ko, 2014, A study on the open- ended system of architectural design method -The indeterminacy theory of Cedric Price. P76-90.

The above examples can be used to analyze into the system structure by the different scale (Table 1). Projects will be clarified and demonstrated as systems. Firstly, their physical behavior in the basic setting analyze, such as movable, fixed, responding, reacting elements and functions at each investigation project. Moving behaviors in the geometric dimension and the frequently applied assemblage methods of the system's organization will be put in focus. Secondly, the exchange target will be identified. Price's projects provide the connection to exchange information with other systems such as social, education, political, and economic ones in different projects. Clarifying the communicate target will indicate the project scales; whether they are buildings, local communities, institutions, or the infrastructure for the whole city.[2] The scale of the projects determines the functional purposes operated by their driving agents or potential agents (communication groups) in each system. Therefore, according to the result of system exchange indication, the opening properties of the system in his projects can be validated. That embedded concepts of indeterminacy, chance, or anticipation will be unfolded by the complex system structure. The result of his open-end system will demonstrate the properties of possible spaces based on the interactive relationships and the operational procedure.

Table 1: Basic system structure: Different level of local interactions in the complex system

system	Components or parts	set of behaviors, "function" or "purpose"	organize and interconnect of the pattern or structure
Architecture	floor, wall, ceiling, room, corridors, special functions ...etc.	Kitchen, office, play ground, park, residence area..etc.	architectural plan, space syntax, space sequence, space configuration
urban	buildings, urban furniture, housing units, green areas, streets, open spaces, zones etc.	Aggregation, density, land-use, develop, growth…	urban planning, traffic network, zoning, fabric, pattern, space syntax etc.

Here we can propose a framework in different types of simulation models. According to Joshua Noble's research, there are five levels of interactivity model, except for the final level (a real conversation between two people) is too complicated and beyond our handling model. When the design provides a user a way of controlling the tempo of information, when the function of user control is added in his program, the manipulation is more than just transmissions. Noble said, "When a user can accomplish a task or input data into the system that changes it in a substantial way and the project creates a means for that system to respond to what the user is doing, then the projects creating interaction." The case study Potteries Thinkbelt, for example, gives the clearest idea of the data flow in the regulative interaction[3].

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[2] The scale divisions based on Assemblage theory. Manuel De Landa, A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity, Continuum, 2006
[3] Joshua Noble, (2009). Programming Interactivity, A Designer's Guide to Processing, Arduino, and Open Frameworks, Introducing Interaction Design (pp.16-19). The United States of America, O'Reilly Media, Inc.

1. Reactive Interaction (London New Aviary, 1958-2001)
2. Data flow in the regulative interaction (Potteries Thinkbelt, 1963-1967)
3. Various geographic constraints of the regulative interaction – (Atom 1967-1968)
4. A learning mode of interaction –(Generator, 1976-1980)

System analysis process

The system analysis method was introduced to reconstruct the project model by following steps: firstly, analyse all physical behaviours, movements, fixed, responding, reacting elements and functions in different scale of the project. Then, identify the exchange target between two systems. In the case of Potteries Thinkbelt, if the entire system works properly, the PTB will become the best bearer system for driving human resources. The transportation system exchange with education system was the communicated target indicates the urban regeneration in the project. Finally, it is important to ensure the opening properties of the system in his projects can be validated. Price's attention is the possibility of various activities or various functions. He designed three levels of project components as following diagram: (fig.1 Potteries Thinkbelt three levels of the system hierarchy)

1. The first level is the PBT network using the original local railway.
2. The second level is the local transfer area includes three areas, Meir, Madeley and Pitts Hill.
3. The final level is local residents and student resident communities.
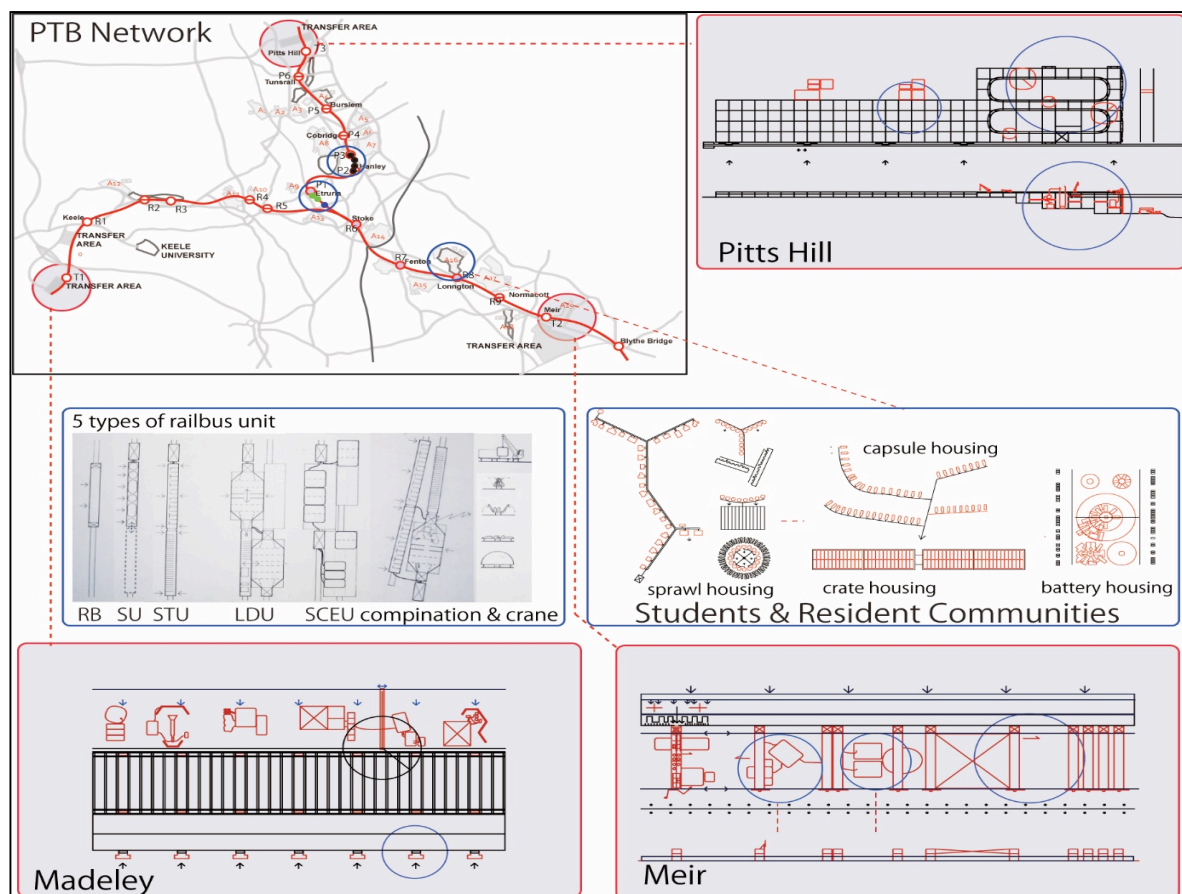
Fig.1 Potteries Thinkbelt three levels of the system hierarchy

**The data flow of the system in the regulative interaction
-Potteries Thinkbelt (1963-1967)**

The functions and proposes displayed by the interaction agents are synchronized and connect to the entire system use object orientation programming technic. It can be seen in the system's structure that each transfer area has its own physical components working as flexible program in the transfer area of the site. However, it is unknown how the class was arranged on the site, because the movable integration or flexibility of the project cannot show the mechanism of the class in the data flow and characteristics of the curriculum in the PTB system. Instead of making a flexible campus interaction program, we demonstrated the area developing the condition and the how the factories relate to local changes. Physical moving elements behave as a path following logically the railway; that is how we are going to show the fluidity of the system. The interaction has to make some basic rules for each moving object. It is important for the objects to have a clear relationship each other. These simple rules make all agents work at the same time in the complex system, which follows three key principles:

1. Simple units with a short-range relationship.
2. Simple units operate in parallel.
3. The system as a whole exhibits emergent phenomena.

The movable objects (trains include rail-bus, seminar units, student self-teach and carrel units, information and equipment's units, lecture and demonstration units, inflatable lecture units…) in the network should driven by the input data of reality. However, there is no sufficient information about local capacities of industrial or housing area and it is not practical to perform investigation about the geographic conditions of the 1960s in that area, which can be used for the database. There were, however, some precise numbers of housing capacities in Price's design for the students and local resident's communities. The method is a reverse engineering of those data from the housing number designed by Price to making the assumptions for the working opportunities provided by factories. This will complete the circle of housing needs, job providing, and student entry numbers. Of course, this is the basic assumption, also based on the fact that the project was designed for 20,000 students as an entry number.

The increasing student number is due to the increase of jobs provided by local factories. In the PTB proposal, the university closely works and cooperates with local factories, the school provides research results and techniques, and the factory provides new technology feedback and training classes for students. We can have the flowing data input to the system. In order to make the network start to function, we need to make the assumption of housing increase logic on the data flow of housing area, which means the order of housing preference from workers or citizen. The interface finally shows the increase of local factory to determine local development.

There is a feedback loop in the regulative interaction system, which shows environmental resource provided opportunities and the constraint at the same time. Land use, volume, and capacity are the recourses form the site, system is good at adopt the changes from the local data; it is possible in the future give more details to

determine land use policy by investigation of population structure. We can see the results of the whole system visualization in the Fig.2
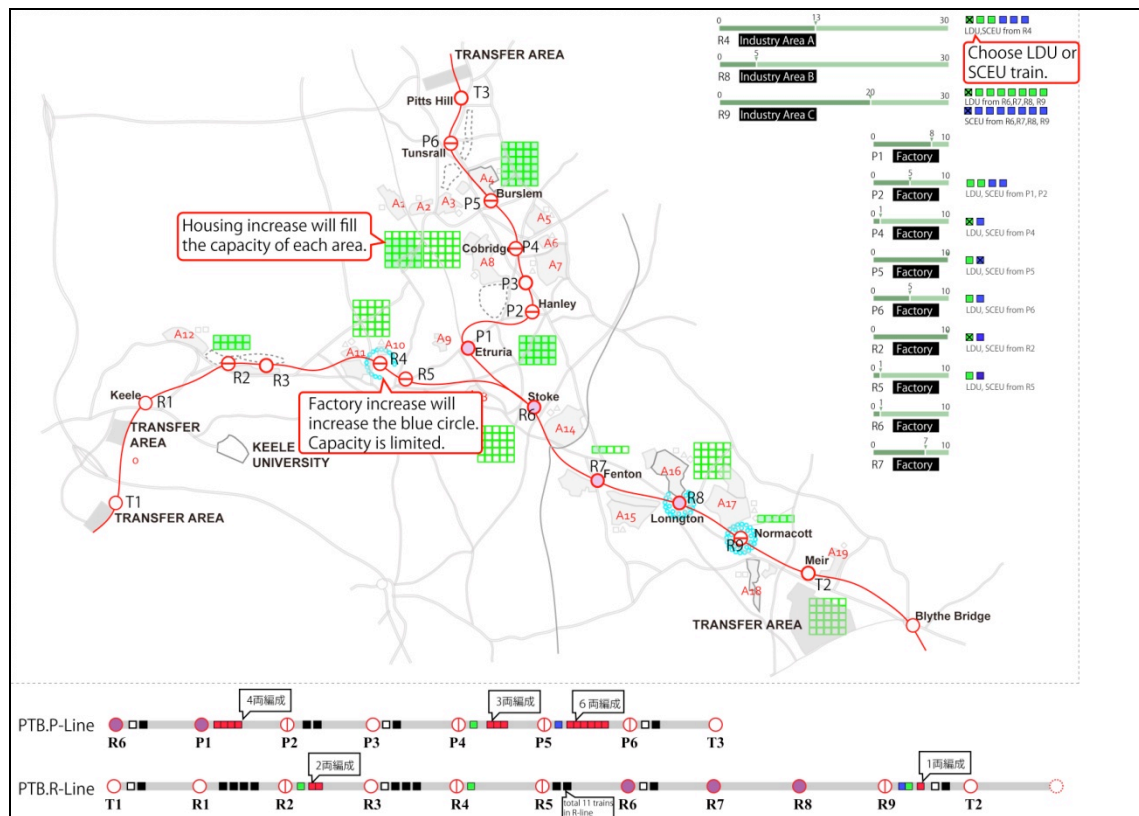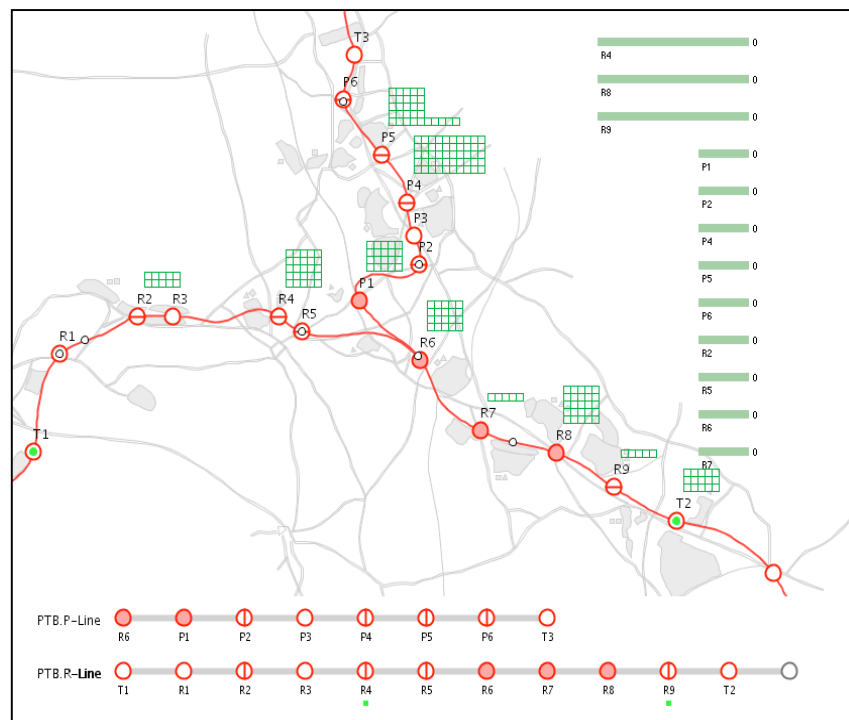

Fig. 2 Interface explaination

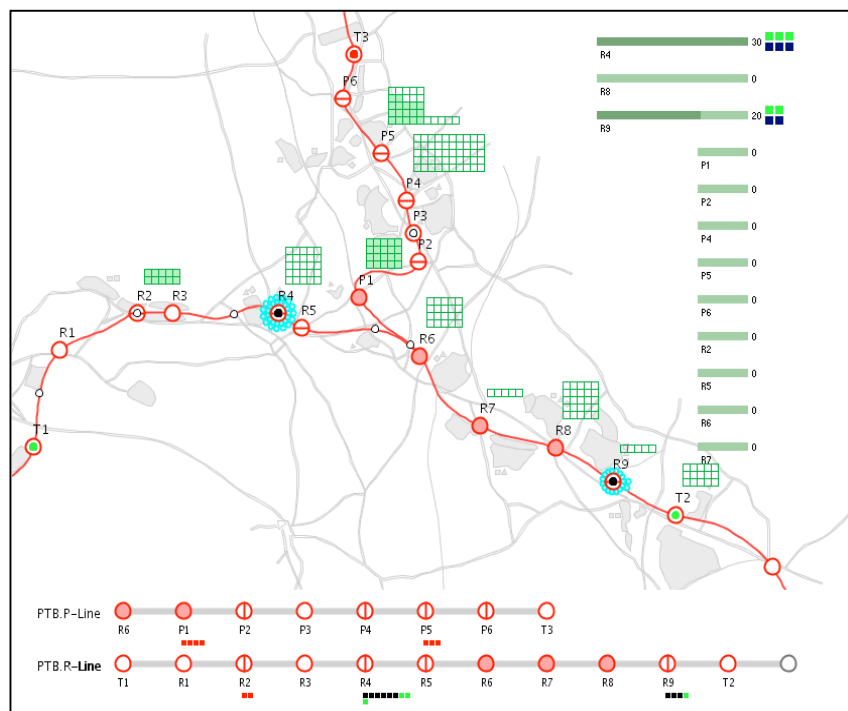Fig.3 Original settings and environmental conditions, t=0.

Fig.4 when the factories start to function in the industry area, the town attract people to move into the residential area. The train will start to move, t= f(x).

According to the result of system exchange indication, the opening properties of the system in his projects, therefore, can provide different spaces of possibility; the space of possible parameters, structure, and the space of possible spatial structures and metabolic pathways will be determined by the environments recourse where the systems are located. These possibilities and frameworks help us understand where the input value and output values are. The research can take the further stages of the real site for verified.

Applying modelling concept to Tamsui in New Taipei City

In the past 50 years, the development of the single core in the metropolitan area of Taipei led to the heavy traffic in the downtown area, resulting in traffic congestion and urban recession. Therefore, the municipal government of New Taipei city had come out an idea to provide a cheaper residential area for Taipei city. The function is expected to introduce 300,000 people move from Taipei. Without tracking the complex problem of local fabrication and unique geographic condition leads culture identity, their new urban planning like drawing on a blank page. There are four main issues urgent to be solved. The model in the study does not provide the direct addresses of these problems. However, through the modelling process, to propose and discuss which input and output factors or parameters will directly affect the success or failure of the planning.

The pathway from Tamsui to Taipei constraint by the geographical condition. The limitation of geographical conditions is mainly affecting the number of people who move from Taipei to Tamsui. The constraint here is only one path to Taipei. Including the traffic congestion, it normally takes more than one hour to Taipei by car, 47 mins

by MRT. Secondly, the alternative accessible path, the Danjiang Bridge (920 m), had some serious problems. The opening of tenders just fail by the process of tendering for the project was too complex in the technical difficulties where construction companies fear that they will not be able to complete the project under the current budget. Third, excessive investment had made high vacancy rate in this area, however, the high property price (of 9.2 times average annual income) stop young people from the purchase. Therefore, the function of providing a cheap residential area is fail, too. Finally, the municipal government lacks some knowledge and understanding of the conditions of the urban fabric, and texture sense of the area. They are actively trying to complete the so-called network system without co-operating with original content and "network".

System study in Tamsui project

The flow is changed over time. Predicted residential demand is an obvious stock, but it cannot show how people decide to move from Taipei to Tamsui. It is like a stock, where is the clearest statistical information from observation. Most of the time flow information is more important than stock. People's observation also tends to focus on stocks rather than flow. Our agent's model can help us to understand the flow behaviours in the project, like how many people go to work by train every from Tamsui to Taipei. How many young people who were raised in Tamsui has interest worked in Taipei…ect.

1. Define physical component and input parameters
2. Mechanism or Relationship between agents
3. Impose constraints, included: environmental conditions, the outer function between the objects, agent's capacities, and threshold.
4. Then start to organize the system hierarchies of inputs parameters: such as urban capacity and network structure based on the geometrical information.
5. The populations and agents preferences effected by environmental qualities.
6. Distance and speed in traffic conditions are the parameters and traffic jam phenomenon.

Above all of this data is how we make MAS model (Fig.5) of Tamsui. The model demonstrates the regenerate and transformation of those impact and reveals the important insight of the effects by one or more agents have on the global state of an urban development process. The model of data flow will show the stringiness of adaptable system in this area to suggest where it can be altered, transformed or change the plan to serve the need of the moment.
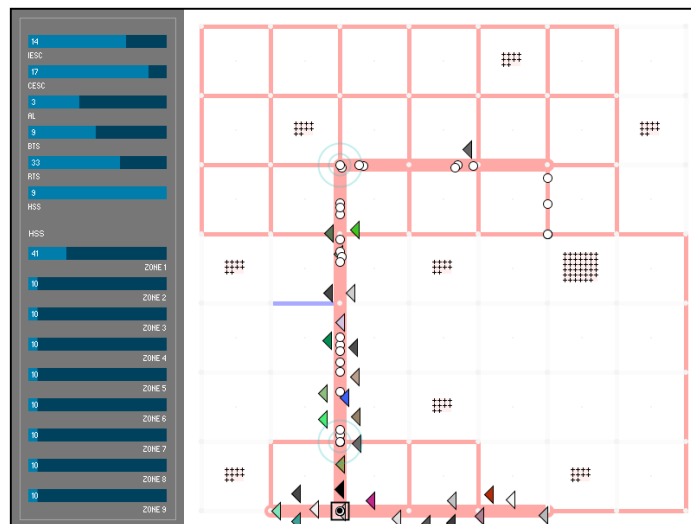
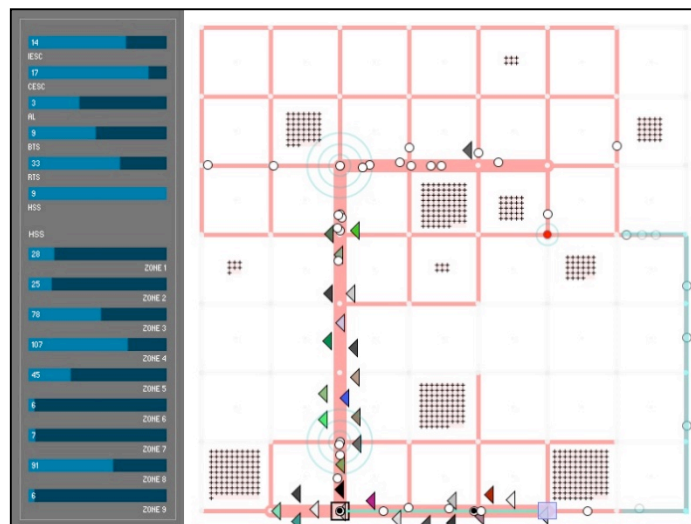Fig.5 New city Grid with traffic system.

Fig.6 New city Grid with new traffic infrastructure

Conclusions

Geographical sources and capabilities are the most important effects for the model initial setting. Refine the research question about local interactive problems and environmental parameters can generate great network heterogeneity in the city models. Some people may have more information sources or abilities than others (such as purchasing capacity / workplace selection ...).There are a lot of data is not sufficient.

In this project the most important influencing factors/parameters related to the temporal scale of urban condition in the organizational –level (the location and development of residential are the path dependence agents. Although the Individual options (human level) are very important, political decisions play the most important role. The research uses multi-agent simulation to show the gap between politicians' anticipations and the political decision-making process which had been made without a strong connection with most of the local and geographical conditions.

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'A Dirt Field': Nature and Power in Local Planning

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Abstract
Research in urban political ecology (notably Neil Smith's notion of the production of nature) provides needed legibility for people and things at the cognitive borderland between nature and society, a persistent division in the western worldview. As a social creation, this divide produces material impacts through local political processes. This research problematizes nature as a social object in City of Nayoras planning processes by politicizing hidden flows of power in which nature is often misrecognized or ignored. Bourdieu's field theory provides an overtly political focus that gives legibility to socially hidden facets of an immanent nature. Ethnographic interviews and participant observation showed that discursive frames from the applied sciences and the abstract and financialized character of economic capital affected nature's legibility. Applied academic knowledge was used in ways that regulate human behavior apparently unconnected with its technical content but with material impacts across political scales that stem from these frames. Use of knowledge from the natural sciences in local government may be a low cost-high reward strategy for improving local ecological outcomes through increased legibility of dynamic systems. Observations in Nayoras indicate that this knowledge may be consistently absent within mundane planning and maintenance within an urban purview in California.

Keywords: urban political ecology, local planning, Bourdieu

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The lover of nature is he whose inward and outward senses are
still truly adjusted to each other…
--Ralph Waldo Emerson

That [humanity's] physical and spiritual life is linked to nature means
simply that nature is linked to itself, for [humanity] is a part of nature.
--Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophic manuscripts of 1844

Introduction

Abdur Sakarnoputri sat in an ascetically furnished conference room on the third floor
of Nayoras City Hall (pseudonym). Planning, he suggested, was an abstract endeavor
in which the needs of future, imagined residents needed to be considered: "…it's not
like people who haven't bought into a neighborhood are concerned about a
neighborhood that doesn't exist. It's a dirt field" (personal communication, July 31,
2013) Echoing Swyngedouw's (1996) early urban political ecological work, Abdur
describes planning processes through which urban, suburban and peri-urban nature is
regularly metabolized. With the practical sensibility of a local planner, Abdur
expresses the juxtaposition of socio-natures in disparate states of digestion within the
urban economic, social and political metabolic systems that, as Marx writes above,
are never separate from nature. Abdur's colleague Jefferson Graham, adds:

> How the heck are we going to know looking out 25 years to know
> exactly what's going to happen, but General Plans are updated every
> five years so that's just the process. You look out, you plan as well as
> you can. And then in 10 years you're updating your General Plan and
> then you look out again. As they are always looking out and then
> looking back and modifying and aligning the theoretical [land use
> designations] with what's projected, with what's reality all the way.
> (personal communication, August 29, 2013)

For Abdur and Jefferson, planning is abstract in character because it is connected to
outcomes that may materialize decades in the future. In this process, although nature
is immanent, natural things are managed through cognitive constructs in power-laden
settings, in part, through linguistic and pragmatic simplification that limit possible
outcomes. In this sense nature is a wily object (sensu Becker, 1953) in western
cognition, one that evokes passion and schooled ignorance in the same breath.

Within urban political ecology (UPE), the idea of the human production of nature
takes a unique form through historical examination of 'rural' objects in regional
hinterlands in relation to 'urban' objects within cities (Robbins, 2012; Cronon, 1991).
UPE has produced empirical research regarding ecological change predominantly in
large urban areas including: the historical growth of specific cities (Chicago, Cronon,
1991; New York, Gandy, 2003), metabolism of resources in urban areas (water,
Swyngedouw, 2004a and Kaika, 2005; food Galt 2013, Guthman, 2011) and specific
geomorphologic features (rivers, Desfor & Keil, 2004; urban lawns, Robbins, 2005).
Other post-humanist work, for example Grove (2009), has provided alternative

ontological approaches that discern "broader cultural dynamics inherent in nature" (Heynen, 2013) that might form a basis for political analysis and that has been part of feminist and post-structuralist research in UPE. The unequal distribution of agency in its human form has been problematized in UPE through analysis of flows of power (Berkes & Folke, 1998; Kobayashi & Peak, 1994; Reed & Christie, 2009 for a discussion of gendered information). Heynen (2013) emphasizes that, though the body of UPE literature has expanded and matured, nature, as an object of research, has been under-theorized (with the notable exception of the philosophical/theoretical work of Loftus, 2012). There is a lack of empirical research focused primarily on theorizing nature in a context of local power. This research gap is addressed here through an empirical reading of nature as a social object within urban planning. Because smaller cities are a demographic sector experiencing exceptional growth (globally NRC, 2003; U.S. Vey & Forman, 2000), these cities create a unique opportunity for research regarding planning processes within a context of sustained growth. This paper examines notions of nature within planning processes in the medium-sized city of Nayoras, California through participant observation and ethnographic interviews. Here, discursive forms such as the quotes from Abdur and Jefferson are a proxy for local social processes as well as a generative tool used to mediate the experience of, attitudes toward and management of the natural world.

Research in urban political ecology provides needed legibility at the cognitive borderland between nature and society, a persistent division in the western worldview (Nik Heynen, 2013). A premise of this paper is that this divide is a social creation with a historical and cultural trajectory that, in the aggregate, produces impacts on people and things (Latour, 1993). Problematizing nature as a social object in local planning processes illuminates hidden flows of power where nature is often misrecognized or ignored (Gandy, 2012) because of economic, cultural and social networks that structure competition for resources. In this light, Bourdieu's field theory is used to analyze concepts of nature in City of Nayoras planning processes. Bourdieu's work provides an overtly politicized focus to local planning that gives legibility to socially hidden facets of an immanent nature.

Methodology

Fieldwork for the project took place over a period of six months in the City of Nayoras, a Central California city of several hundred thousand people. Data include field notes, archival material (mainly planning documents, meeting minutes, and agendas), participant observation, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews. The researcher spent several hundred hours in the field from June to December of 2013. A second round of data, centered on a City of Nayoras water rate increase, was collected in focus groups during the fall of 2014. An interview protocol, included as an appendix, was used in the first round of interviews (Patton, 1990). Using language as a proxy, this protocol was designed to uncover the implicit worldview used by informants considered planning experts. Semi-structured interviews provided benefits in three areas: evaluation by university leadership, consistency between different interviewers, and efficiency within a time-constrained framework.

The research lent itself to the case study method as outlined by Yin (1984). This method is useful when applied to settings in which several observable phenomena are evident within present-day contexts and where the nature of the interconnection between the setting and these occurrences is unclear. The case study method allows for use of varied data sources (Yin, 1984). Inductive coding of data initially followed an anthropological method (Spradley, 1979, 1980) with a focus on types and flows of information including Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Initial results from this initial analysis led to subsequent rounds of coding focused on emergent themes relating to organization of social space and stores of capital in a Bourdieuian relational field. Terms used by informants from interviews and observation are off set throughout this paper by use of single quotations.

Theoretical Framework

Humans read nature through social constructs in power-laden settings, including local planning departments. Following Latour (1993, 2007), this social construction does not imply that material reality is imagined or that humans are the sole molders of outcomes in the natural world. Using the much-quoted words of Bourdieu, it does imply that the categories of "vision and division" (1996, p. 5) human's produce affect the management of increasingly fragile human affected natural systems. This moment in history is referred to as the Anthropocene because of the unique and increasingly catastrophic effects of human actions on the global biosphere. In an age where human impacts have left no part of the globe untouched, analyzing nature as a social object implies demystifying and politicizing cognitive simplifications of complex socio-natural systems. Linguistic and cognitive simplifications create a system of urban metabolism that affects extensive stores of resources well beyond city limits. Depending on the character of the constructs used in simplification, less understood natural dynamic processes may become functionally illegible to humans. In a world facing unprecedented environmental changes, a truly socio-natural legibility that addresses flows of power may be a key factor in any attempt to alter negative environmental outcomes.

The work of Bourdieu has been used in social science as a materialist method for analytically debunking the belief that social function is transparent. Bourdieu addresses material relations and objects, including people, that become lost in flows of power. Despite criticism that his theory is deterministic or static, its materialist emphasis has produced what Wacquant (1992), Bourdieu's former student and co-author, calls "a sociology of symbolic power" (p. 14) and what Bourdieu (1996) himself calls a description of "symbolic violence" (p. 3). Bourdieu's theory grants "that symbolic systems are social products that contribute to making the world" and which highlights the "contribution that various forms of symbolic violence make to the reproduction and transformation of structures of domination" (Wacquant, 1992, p. 14-15). Bourdieu outlines a theory of relations that maps social space through species of capital that give substance to these structures (Wacquant, 1991; Jenkins, 1981). The "tool kits" (Wacquant, 1992, p. 31) provided by concepts within Bourdieu's theory are constructed with the goal of solving social puzzles. Bourdieu's focus on

demystifying relations of power through capital flows in an expanded system of exchange speaks to social and political ecological struggles of the 21st century and the role of social processes in the production and reproduction of an immanent nature. This paper analyzes categories in planning processes used to read nature within a local field of power (based on structures and power derived from the state) and focuses on the ways these categories, along with the species of Bourdieuian capital (economic, cultural, social) connected to them, produce nature's illegibility.

Conclusions

Using Bourdieu's field theory, data analysis is centered on how informants perceived nature discursively and how this perception affected behavior. The following paragraphs are divided into four sections that reflect Bourdieu's three types of capital followed by an analysis of the local field of power. Notions of nature were discussed by informants in line with Bourdieu's concept of the visioning power of the state. Informants used discursive categories to structure competitive behavior and used personal agency to bend categories to meet their goals. In this context, the applied sciences were observed in a powerful position among other stores of capital, while the natural sciences occupied a much lower status. This analysis is not meant as a criticism of any applied discipline per se but, instead, is meant to indicate a lack of key ecological knowledge in local planning. Observation indicates that ecological processes central to positive environmental outcomes may be invisible to local planners in light of the dearth of explicit content from the natural sciences while also maintaining the inarguable importance of the applied sciences.

Economic Capital

Economic capital was a predominant theme during participant observation and interviews. Central categories fell roughly in three areas. In line with Marx, informants saw nature as a store of existing or future value for individuals and the community. This is expressed by a powerful development association representative: "There's not a drop [of water] out of the Sierras that doesn't belong to someone. Whether it's the environment or a contract or someone or something" (M. Perez, personal communication, September 13, 2013). The informant describes the high level of commodification of water in the Central Valley such that all the water that flows down from the Sierra snowpack has been allocated in appropriative or riparian contracts. Although dynamic ecological processes were not mentioned, static pools of natural stores or natural objects were seen largely through planning designations, usually for categories of land (e.g. 'smaller parcels,' 'universal access park,' 'greenfield development,' 'median islands') or components of highly commodified and engineered systems, especially water (e.g. 'water out of the Delta,' 'recharge,' 'storage in the Sierras'). Sometimes modifiers were added to these terms to denote the object's possible future place in a planning process involving commodification. Land was seen almost exclusively in terms of land use designations that speak to a hierarchy within a pre-development land market: an 'easy patch of land' is a parcel which fits economic needs in size or shape without much additional cost, 'an empty piece of property' or 'a dirt field' is a parcel with no buildings (equivalent

discursively to a parcel with very low ecological productivity, bare earth). Words like 'easy' and 'empty' refer solely to economic processes for which the city structures a field of power. Competition is waged in this field for economic benefits connected to pieces of nature situated on a continuum of adequacy in the building process.

Second, informants saw metabolism of parcels of land in terms of risk management, a growing foundation for local fiscal stability. According to informants the mode of expansion for infrastructure build out comes in relatively infrequent moments of debt accrual often associated directly with infrastructure build out. Accompanied by increasingly present risk management structures, public infrastructure 'improvements' (e.g. water, sewer, storm drains) enable real estate to enter into productive activity. Risk management was considered 'internal' (as opposed to 'public') to high status management spheres in the local field of power and was seen as highly technical by informants. Changing economic practice has shifted the perception of risk management from mechanisms within a largely *external* market to decidedly internalized processes closely coupled with moments of proposed infrastructure build out and urban metabolism of land. Informants from diverse roles and status saw these moments of intensive risk management as impacting 'cash flow.' For example, negative press from conflict over environmental concerns was perceived as affecting future cash flow through possible effects on the city's bond rating (similar to an individual's credit score). This result echoes Beck: "risks become the all-embracing background for perceiving the world" (2000, p. 218). Through risk management tools local government has created a system of perception of nature structured by the language of finance. These discursive frames seep into material work expectations and the vocabulary expected from experts in the field of power, eventually limiting the type of future imagined for the city and codified in the general plan and the development code.

Third, specific natural objects were seen as providing amenities to neighborhoods in ways that spoke to the positionality of geographic sub-regions within the city, in other words, residents socialized by advocacy efforts competed for particular natural objects. 'Amenities' were seen as signs of a neighborhood's status among other neighborhoods and this vision limited the character of advocacy efforts, notably those that might have been directed toward alternative cultural visions of urban nature. 'Street trees,' sidewalks with 'landscaped areas,' and 'urban green space' were requested by residents as economic markers indicating that a neighborhood matters. These amenities were seen as similar in category to other less natural objects that form part of the distributive network of infrastructure such as streets (e.g. maintenance of potholes, stop signs, speed bumps). When given the opportunity, residents who had visited other urban areas pointed to these amenities as desirable changes. A city staff member regularly charged with gathering community input states:

> Several of the residents were concerned about the need for green space
> in that area that you know they hear on the television for example the
> need for green space and childhood obesity and what they have to do
> to reduce weight and…'And yet we don't have anything around us

where we can exercise in a safe manner…' (I. Yero, personal communication, August 16, 2013)

While provision of shade or cultural considerations were important aspects of consideration, there was also a decidedly social facet to resident's thinking about which that planners and advocates commented in interviews. Certain amenities are present in neighborhoods with higher status (Bourdieu's autonomous pole). A lack of these physical stores was seen as privation and taken as a sign that an area was less consequential than it could be. Autochthonous categories for natural objects among immigrant groups (e.g. urban farming, creative/ethnic landscape architecture, a sense of dependence on nature) though often extremely important to residents were much less present as signs of status. These objects were reserved for other fields (i.e. racial fields and cultural production). This pattern indicated that categories of management from applied science and planning closer to the autonomous pole, filter down to heteronomous social space within the local field of power. The resulting reading of status among social actors affected environmental outcomes in that advocacy efforts were based on learned understandings of what was possible. This pattern reflects the surprisingly isomorphic nature of the field across language barriers (Nayoras has scores of language groups) as well as the power of applied science in shaping cultural expectations of urban form as well as readings of nature.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's species of cultural capital are central to flows of power in his field theory. In this case, the extremely low position of expressions of naturally oriented cultural capital in planning processes produced nature's illegibility in terms of ecological function. The positionality of cultural capital in the local field of power created a system of attitudes and behaviors that, through schooled ignorance, overlooked the mundane nature that is in constant interaction with resident bodies. The systemic (symbolic) violence that resulted stemmed less from intention than an inability to perceive systems through the lens of natural science.

The embodied form

Often misrecognized as skill, social actors read embodied forms of cultural capital as signs of prestige and competence. Bourdieuian embodied cultural capital takes many forms that mark bodies in terms of positionality in fields of competition, including things like mannerisms and clothing. For the sake of brevity, this paper will focus on discursive forms of cultural capital. Within embodied cultural practice in Nayoras planning processes, nature is notable for its implicit presence and discursive absence. Characteristics that were related to competency among informants were framed with limited knowledge of ecological function. Instead informants employed the language of public policy, engineering and a discourse of sustainability (often devoid of technical substance) to categorize things that could be considered natural: 'parcel,' 'groundwater,' 'water table,' 'urban tree forest,' 'recycled water,' 'recharge,' 'universal access park,' and 'storm water drainage.' Other less technical terms for nature or equally technical terms from the natural sciences were almost completely

absent. This discursive pattern was related to attitudes about the kind of people who are most qualified to give input about planning decisions. For example, a manager in the water division stated: "…people say emotional things about water without any understanding…of the practical world" (M. Quist, personal communication, August 17, 2013). Later this manager adds that what is actually needed in policy decisions is "a very robust tactical discussion in terms of what really are the problems and what really are the causes of those problems and what really are the opportunities. What are the real risks? A very robust conversation between…technically proficient and competent people" (M. Quist, personal communication, August 23, 2013). Here the informant describes in detail the characteristics--i.e. embodied cultural capital--that communicates expertise and knowledge within planning processes.

In the minds of expert informants, participants that belong in committee meetings in which the future of valuable resources are at stake should display a cultural capital of technical expertise sufficient to add to a 'tactical' discussion of details. One planning staff, an engineer, described the learning that took place before she felt able to participate: "So we think that these things are going to be a piece of cake and it wasn't. All of a sudden you're being asked to scope this project…from 10,000 feet. How do you do that?...My idea [was that] planning—you know, the way terms were used, the way people communicated—was language that was very internal to their profession and sometimes alienating" (M. Abner, personal communication, September 15, 2013). Even highly trained city staff learned to display language that was similar to other expert staff in order to align themselves discursively with the autonomous pole in a local field of power. In other cases in which committee members lacked the desired technical expertise, knowledge of the rules of the planning game and avoidance of conflict that might change the visionary direction of the project made less skilled individuals appear fit for participation.

The objectified form

Observations about the objectified state of cultural capital, the "(pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critique of these theories" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47), resulted in a complex and intricate network of capital in the local field of power. This section describes objects related to the representation of nature in maps or codified documents and the perceived change in techno-natural systems that planning efforts have produced over time. These objectified stores of cultural capital are either representations of or are the material product of theory and reveal social patterns and categories that speak to nature as a social object.

First, objectified information about resource delivery systems and other natural objects in the form of GIS, databases, and digital and paper maps had multiple levels of function. Their formal purpose was to provide a simplified and layered visual/spatial summary of distribution systems such as water, sewer, recreation and housing. But mapping technologies were also used informally as tools to regulate flows of power. Mapping objects had positionalities in and of themselves in the local field related to their speed and power to deliver information. For example, in Nayoras

the water division is an offsite and largely bureaucratic division in which GIS is not used. Instead the water division uses paper maps for day-to-day function related to water delivery and billing to the public. Among high-level staff a GIS is a high-status object used to provide visioning and vetting tools for planning projects. Although a large quantity of geographical and other data is available to the public in shapefile format on the city's Website, this information is rarely accessed. Finally, GIS based information was viewed widely as an 'internal' tool suitable for high level staff. Staff related this to the heightened sense of danger regarding possible terrorist attacks and, as described below, to the changing structure of public space. After 9/11 an initial public GIS system was disabled because of fear of "sewer and water system information [becoming] publicly available to anonymous users" (email communication May 30, 2014). The current system addresses this issue by maintaining three separate user capabilities so that the most sensitive information can be closely monitored. The free version is accessible to everyone but does not contain sewer or water information. The other two systems provide the same meticulously maintained content but are used by 'internal' development subscribers and by city staff.

In Nayoras moments of vision casting regarding future planning efforts (later fleshed out and codified in documents) occurred apart from deliberative public processes. Planning projects, often including delivery systems for water, sewer and land use, are a central mechanism for managing future metabolism of these resources. It was during 'internal' deliberations between a few expert staff, the mayor and, subsequently, hired consults that the majority of this content was formulated. One former planning staff stated that there was "no public involvement" in many important development decisions (M. Peeve, personal communication, August 15, 2013). The director of the water division expressed motivations behind this 'internal' visioning of future distributive structure: "The more I involve the public, the more hassles I have. [The process] was public in a sense… but we didn't invite the public…The public didn't have access to this information…It didn't go to council…It's not public because politics starts to play a part and politics screws it up" (M. Quist, interview, August 23, 2012). The informant expresses the perceived status of 'the public' in planning of distributive networks that are formally public in character. 'The public' was not considered knowledgeable enough to participate in the codification process for planning efforts that might affect other capital stores (e.g. personal cultural capital or economic capital). Because of this, by the time these decisions reached City Council deliberation and vote, they were largely binary in character, i.e. accept or reject a completed plan in which most of the content conforms to the vision of high level staff later fleshed out by consultants. One planning staff person stated: "We use consultants to help. They sort of set the stage, they set it up for us." (M. Abner, personal communication, September 5, 2013). Time added to this dynamic. As planning documents were formulated through 'internal' channels that sometimes took years with one or more changes in City Council make-up, elected officials or 'the public' had no viable opportunity to use the highest quality information systems available to them.

There was also a difference in the positioning of objectified cultural capital produced by planning processes. This positioning often seemed to be intentionally hidden behind a spectacle of city council deliberation and was reflected in admonitions to city staff that political credit seeking was considered untoward. This allowed objectified staff products in Nayoras to go largely unchallenged in public deliberation. In another example of a similar dynamic, a large amount of staff time, sometimes five years or more, was dedicated to General Plan updates that sometimes included the Development Code (a document that codifies the type of urban form that is applied mainly to new development). The General Plan in comparison to the Development Code was much less meaningful for guiding implementation. City Hall, through the code enforcement department, could use force (e.g. code infractions) to ensure code guidelines were followed while the General Plan is not subject to compliance mechanisms. It became clear that the General Plan was used to channel low status 'public' input regarding resource visions molded in more dominant sectors of social space. This allowed advocacy groups and 'the public' to feel that they had participated without the city needing to change central components of planning practice. Within smaller planning efforts informants also expressed a sense of dependence by elected officials on staff input for resource visioning, specifically the pervasive 'staff report'. This unassuming object codified the applied scientific expertise held by professional staff and became a store of cultural capital in the local field of power. During spectacle-like City Council deliberations council members asked questions of expert staff but demonstrated political restraint in the face of high stores of cultural capital objectified in the staff report. Councilmembers sometimes rejected staff suggestions in yes or no votes but avoided challenging them directly. In these ways, the place of applied scientific expertise was close to the autonomous pole of social space in every instance it was observed.

Discussion

In summary, these results speak to the power of academic knowledge to structure the production of nature through local planning. Following Becker (1953), the physical effects of an object are mediated by a social learning. Physical effects alone do not determine the eventual meaning and subsequent use of an object. In this way, the type of social object any material thing becomes over time is molded by the meaning actors use to experience it and with which actors read it for others. Scholars of infrastructure note that systems of infrastructure often become invisible in local government because natural crises (floods, irrigation, water quality) are well-managed by formal structures that require little attention (Melosi, 2001, 2008; Star, 1999; Schott, 2004; Peluso, 2012; Varnelis, n.d.). What is left after these inarguably important facets of collective management are the human categories used to design systems of distribution, regulation and control of nature expressed through the applied sciences.

In Nayoras planning processes, the analysis of Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capital revealed that applied academic knowledge is used in ways that regulate human behavior apparently unconnected with its technical content. The abstract and financialized character of economic capital have become powerful motivators for

action with both individual and organizational implications. Even the political behavior of neighborhood advocates at the heteronomous pole of social space were affected by academic categories that filter isomorphically to them. The embodied and objectified forms of cultural capital marked the belonging of bodies, things, and organizations within networks of relationships among perceived equals. This capital was used to create opposing 'internal' and 'public' realms of participation along axes of power that defended expert knowledge and limited alternative readings of natural capital. This partitioning was also observed in codified public documents that had extremely variable impact on planning outcomes but that were not represented as such to the public.

Following Latour, much of the power of science lies in its ability to shape thought, in other words, in the production of a dominant reading of a unified social and material world. For Bourdieu, if the social hierarchies hidden within this reading are not problematized—through analysis of capital stores within a broader system of trans-economic exchange—even well-meaning social science may contribute to the misrecognition of the flows of power institutionalized in its products. The results of this paper suggest that existing ecological knowledge may not be part of the reading of nature in local planning because of the dominance of applied science. This paper argues that use of knowledge from the natural sciences may be a low cost-high reward strategy for improving local ecological outcomes through increased legibility of dynamic systems from which ecosystem services flow. The caveat is added that existing flows of power, specifically the network of professional organizations described above are key to meaningful expansion of an applied scientific knowledge base. Observations in Nayoras indicate that this knowledge may be consistently absent within the mundane planning and maintenance of the natural capital within the urban purview. More effective knowledge dissemination is vital in an age that presents global environmental challenges that are directly related to the social processes that produce these effects and in which liberation from socially opaque systems that hide humanity's underlying material relations may be the biggest stake science has ever faced.
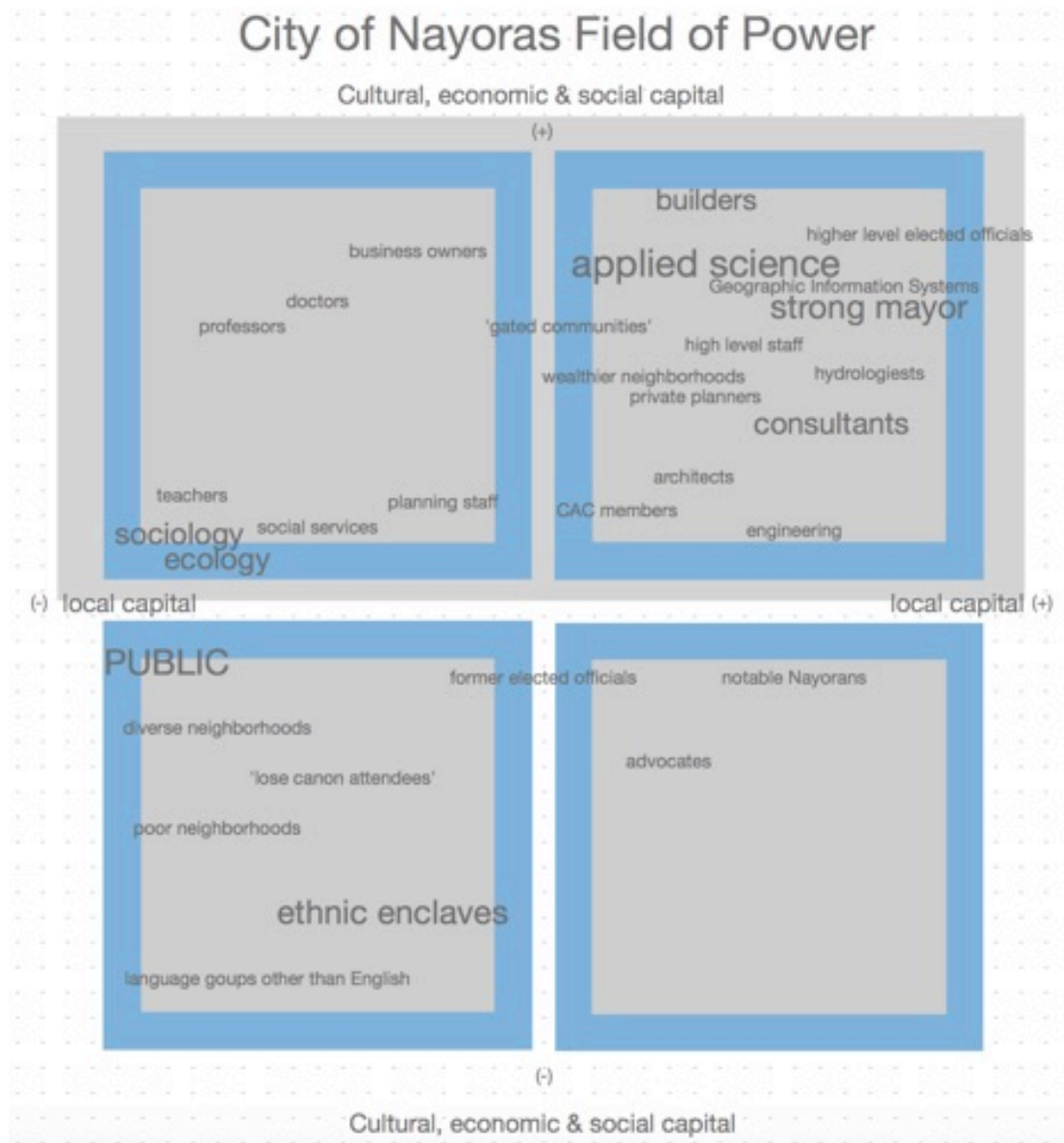
Figure #1: City of Nayoras locality field of power

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Ecofeminist Ethics for Sustainable Urban Public Space

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Abstract

Throughout history, the public urban space has reflected the city's social, economic, cultural and environmental well-being. In the broader discussion of urban environmental sustainability, however, there has been a pronounced dualism and an implicit hierarchy of value while looking at the city-ecology paradigm. This corresponds to political-social, human- nature and subject-object divisions within the western philosophy. General conversations on the sustainability of urban public spaces have predominantly used urban policies, planning theories and architectural engineering approaches to privilege quantitative aspects like morphology and energy, over qualitative aspects like experience, well-being, and equity; thus, giving greater value to the former. But in challenging such dualities, this paper adopts a critical and eco-feminist perspective, to philosophically investigate planning theories related to urban public spaces and to build a holistic definition of urban environmental sustainability for open public spaces. The methodology adopted uses contemporary feminist philosophy to critically investigate eco-feminist discussions of sexuate difference and ethics of care, in the context of design for environmental and sociopolitical sustainability within urban public spaces. In this paper, firstly, we discuss the ethic of sexuate difference while establishing that addressing sexuate difference through design can create a new way we occupy, experience, explore and perceive the urban public space. Secondly, we elaborate on the ethics of care to imply that 'caring' as a core value can create equitable spatial and community experience as well as address the micropolitics of human-nature relationship more amicably. Concluding, the paper will advocate eco-feminism as an integrative approach to achieve socio-ecological sustainability and well-being in urban public spaces.

Keywords: Urban Public space, sustainability, ecofeminism, ethic of sexuate difference, ethics of care, socio-ecological sustainability, community well being

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Introduction

In this paper, we talk about urban spaces because the future of a sustainable world lies in compact, happy, and ecological balanced cities. We specifically delve into topic of open urban public space through philosophical thinking as this aspect of the cities are at the epicenter of sociocultural life as well as environmental health of the city and there have been fewer research that address the problems in unison.

The World Commission on Environment and Development's 'Our common future' (Brundtland et al., 1987) commonly known as the ' Brundtland report' addressed the possibility for a new era of economic growth, one that must be based on policies that sustain and expand the environmental resource base. Since then, over the past thirty years, the report sanctioned development of 'sustainable' advanced urban and building technology markets, under the title of varied environmental terms like 'green', 'responsive' or 'environmental'. While there were achievements in terms of having more number of 'comfortable' energy efficient buildings and using renewable energy resources more than before, cities have not been able to decrease their carbon dioxide emissions and keep a check on rising temperatures every year (Friedrich & Damassa , 2014). Since the global acceptance of sustainable development goals, the widely encompassing term 'sustainability' has been developed, used as well as misused for capitalist and inequitable political purposes which has not necessarily ensured a good social and environmental well-being in cities.

This problem has been critically identified with diverse perspectives by deep ecologists, environmentalists, urbanists as well as feminist scholars noting a gap in the fundamental ethics of the concepts of development and planning of cities. Many deep ecologists claim that the commonplace anthropocentric approaches, which keep human needs above all the non-human and biotic ecology are the main reason for this gap (Guattari, 2000; Mostafavi, 2010; Naess & Rothenberg, 1990). Discussions in ecological urbanism, that take theoretical roots from deep ecology works of scholars like Arne Næss and Felix Guattari, often challenge the anthropocentrism in city planning and urban spaces and their relationship to people while promoting biospheric egalitarianism.

Many feminist philosophers associate these approaches with androcentrism, claiming that a masculine culture of appropriation, ownership, dominance and thus oppression of other sexes, other living beings, land and the environment, is responsible (Benhabib, 1993; Greed, 1994; Macgregor, n.d.; Perkins, 2007; Rawes, 1993; Wekerle, 1980). Clara Greed in her manifesto, 'Women and planning: creating gendered realities' adopted such a critical perspective to look at urban spaces through a different model including belief, gender, class, planning subculture, and space. The component of belief was a variable term that encompassed theories of politics, ideology, ethics, spirituality and reason (Greed, 1994). While conceptualizing her study, Greed asserted that patriarchal notions of men, women, culture, livelihood and thus identity, or subjectivity, have always supported the scientific divisions in city planning creating strong dichotomies that assign a hierarchical dominance to the former. The dichotomies in this context include, but are not limited to culture-nature, city-ecology, public-private, professional-academic, quantitative-qualitative, visible-invisible, middle class- working class, work-home, breadwinner-homemaker, economy-wellbeing, rationality-emotional, man-woman, man-other' and the object-

subject (greed, 1994). This dualism has established a sense of hierarchical verticality where feminist discourses on public space planning have highlighted this fundamental divide as the root cause of inequity in women's experience of public space. Challenging these dualisms, discourses within ecological ethics, feminist theory, and environmental ethics have called for an ethical shift in thinking about spaces and our spatiotemporal relationships.

The urban public space has been studied under the lens of notable urban theory scholars like William Whyte (Whyte, 1980), Jon Gehl (Gehl, 2007, 2011), Matthew Carmona (Carmona, 2010b), Stephen Carr (Carr, 1992; Carr, Francis, Rivlin, & Stone, 1992), who brought to light the evolution of the morphological, visual, perceptual and social dimensions of the urban public space. Scholarly works like Matthew Carmona's 'Contemporary Public Space: critique and classification' (Carmona, 2010a) provides criticisms on the emerging typologies of the current urban public space where private ownership, individualistic lifestyles, technological domination, capitalistically oriented functions and vehicular authority have rendered under managed, neglected, invaded and isolated open urban spaces that make no sense, environmentally, socially, politically and ethically.

Various studies of public spaces have generated several indicators for how a public space can be analyzed, designed and be successful. While research such as Stephen's Carr's 'Public Spaces' (Carr, 1992; Carr et al., 1992) or Jan Gehl's 'Life in between buildings'(Gehl, 2011) focuses on how public spaces are activated or deactivated through human interpersonal relations, behavior and human tendencies, such careful observations of daily life and activities in public space are nevertheless done through an ungendered lens bypassing the existing hierarchy of the sexes and reinforcing a misunderstanding of users as unsexed subjects. Leonie Sandercock, and Ann Forsyth, in their influential work of defining a gendered agenda in planning, identified three components of feminist political struggle: (1) claiming women's right to be actors in the public domain and to work and participate fully in the life of the city; (2) carving out and protecting public space for women; and (3) redefining the nature and extent of the public domain (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992) .

Continuing thinking in this direction, perception through a combined lens of studies of feminist ethics and essential elements of ecological thinking helps to get closer to the question of equity and socio-ecological sustainability for open public spaces. Ecofeminist ethics thus offer the potential to generate indicators for rethinking our urban spaces and get closer to addressing questions of equity and ecological sustainability in public space, together. In the following sections of the paper we discuss more in depth the ecofeminist ethics that can help us create a holistic sustainability theory for designing and managing public spaces in cities. Our discussion focuses on the philosophical aspect of public space and thus tries to mend the gap of ethical framework for sociopolitical and ecological sustainability of public spaces. We thus refer to the philosophical works of scholars of feminist, ecologists and eco-feminist to strengthen the ethical perspective that helps reflect on the question of sustainability.

Public spaces and the Ethics of Sexuate difference

The public space in different cities has evolved through time and layers of social, cultural, environmental and ethical changes in the urban place. From early Greek agoras, medieval marketplaces, Renaissance plazas and piazzas, city commons, monuments and memorials, grandeur gardens, parks and playgrounds to the modern shopping malls, corporate parks, private public spaces, pocket parks and community gardens, public spaces have shown varied shades of inequity in their design and its effect on the community. The inequities have reflected in the architectural, sociological and ecological nature of the urban public space. While the urban capitalist consumeristic attitudes increased, the divide between the urban culture and 'nature' became more apparent. Along with a systemic racial, class and economic divide, patriarchal cultures have dominated the urban public space leaving women to be lesser in charge, politically, governmentally, experientially and physically. Thus, while philosophers of ecology and environment have pointed an anthropocentric that is human centric tendencies to be responsible for these inequities, feminist urban studies suggest that androcentric ways of planning and designing spaces and communities are accountable. There is a common duality that is reflected in these divides and in this research, we address this duality of city and ecology, public and private, masculine and feminine, subject and object.

The open public spaces in cities, that have been based up, employing, and maintaining the dualities of man-woman, subject-object, city-ecology, culture-nature and so on, for so long have been undermining the question of sexual difference, or rather sexuate difference. Martin Heidegger, in his lecture 'building dwelling thinking', asked the basic question "what is it to dwell? How does building belong to dwelling?" (Heidegger, 1993) exploring the question further, Heidegger's stance proclaimed dwelling as a basic character of being: a way we are in or upon the world. Through his ontological argument, his question about 'man' or the human (where gender does not enter his philosophical question), Heidegger establishes that for humans, 'being' is 'dwelling' and being, thinking and dwelling are inseparable entities. The question of 'being' thus becomes an important one while thinking about dwelling.

This exploration becomes more complex when we focus on the public space in socio-ecological context. Public urban spaces, in a democratic social setting, belong to all its human users. In this case, the place or the 'locale' connects to the individual's experience of 'being' and thinking. Distancing from the anthropocentric view, ecologically, it belongs to all human, non-human, natural entities, as a place where all the entities can coexist and co-inhabit in a shared world.

Here we refer to French philosopher and cultural theorist Luce Irigaray and her work on the ethics of sexual difference, specifically 'sexuate difference' a term that was developed more clearly in the later works of Irigaray such as 'Way of love' (Irigaray, 2004) and 'Sharing the world' (Irigaray, 2008) . Irigaray's sexuate difference suggests an ontological difference between sexes (two or more), that is non-hierarchical and irreducible to one another. This difference is transcendental and relational. Irigaray suggests that this non-appropriative sexuate difference can support a culture that respects other kinds of alterity such as race, age, culture religion etc. Irigaray's perspective here presents a strong ethical argument to the question of public space which faces problems in terms of cultural diversity, racial diversity, inequitable

experience by women and environmental exploitation of the ecological land, all reflecting androcentric and anthropocentric nuances of domination of one over the other.

Irigaray explains her own rethinking of sexuate difference as the opening to thought and to life, which figures man and woman in a nonhierarchical relationship (Irigaray, 1993). This difference relates to an interval between two subjectivities, both of which are to be created and continuously reformed within this interval. Resonating with Rebecca Hill's analysis of Irigaray's ethic, sexuate difference is (Hill, 2015)

- A relationship to the self as a woman (or as a man) different to cultural presumptions
- Relationships to objects different to that learned within our traditions
- Relationships to other woman subjects and to other man subjects to be culturally recognized
- The nonhierarchical sexual difference between man and woman
- Relationships to nonhuman animals that are nonhierarchical and recognize a shared world
- Relationships to plants that recognize our interdependence and coexistence
- Relationships to the milieus of the earth and the cosmos as such as shared
- Relationships to the world as shared (Hill, 2015, p.134)
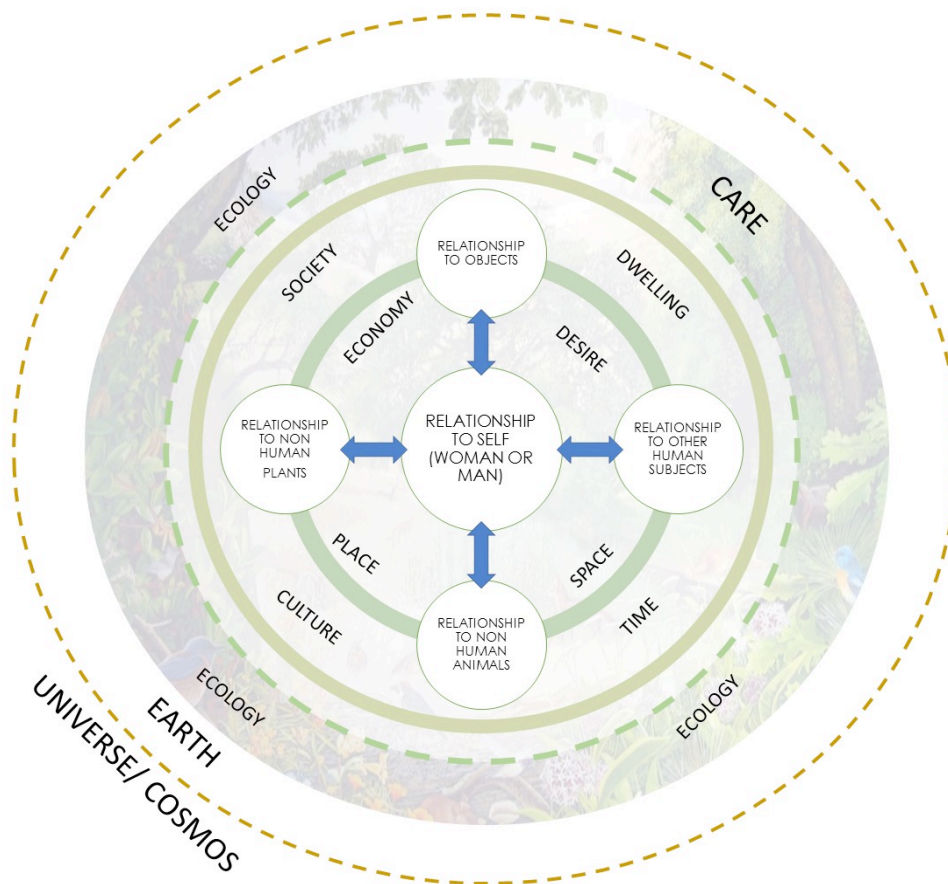
Figure 1: A non-hierarchical approach of subjectivity developing philosophy of sustainability through study of ethics of care and sexuate difference

This nonhierarchical model of difference also directs us to the relationship we can have with spaces and can help solve the problems that have arisen out of the dualisms that we, as a society have created. Scholars like Karen Frank, Ann Forsythe, Leonie Sandercock have highlighted a necessity of gendered perspective in planning and revitalizing city spaces, to counter the environmental and sociological problems, holistically. While studies regarding women's mobility, accessibility, agency, inclusivity and safety in public spaces, all over the world, reflect a stark inequity in use, cities have consistently faced fierce vehicularisation, decreasing green cover, increasing carbon footprint and disjunct between us and our ecological counterparts: birds, animals, insects and flora-fauna. A confound process of rethinking our being in the spaces, sensing our surroundings, movement from indoors, outdoors and transitional spaces and our sensibilities regarding aesthetics and engagement with the spaces is necessary to make our relationship with the urban public spaces, sustainable.

Thinking with the ethics of sexuate difference with respect to the urban public space challenges the existing ways we be, sense, explore/move and perceive beauty in public spaces. In western philosophy (Plato, Aristotle), where movement is conceptualized as a masculine and related to linear models of time whereas location or 'locale' is conceptualized as feminine and static or cyclic temporalities (Colomina & Bloomer, 1992), assignment is also reflected in the cultural appropriation of women's domesticity and indoors and exclusivity of masculine movement in the public spaces of cities. Architectural reflections of a feminine way of dwelling and moving to create material spaces have been highlighted by designers like Jane Rendell, Sarah Wigglesworth, Kane Weisman, as well as environmental psychologists like Kristen Day who have argued that childcare and activities reflecting other forms of care in open public spaces help to create this positive transformation not only as a spatial construct but social and political agency (Rawes, 2007).

Sensorily, shifting the focus from purely visual ways of exploring spaces, which some feminist argues to be a masculine appropriation of aesthetics, public spaces can be created through the senses of touch, smell, sound, thus establishing new ways of perceiving and interacting with these spaces. Public celebrating sensual activities of everyday life: experiences, like eating, cooking, gardening, dancing, music wherein it is difficult to fix on a single artist and artwork (Detels, 2006), such aesthetics can thus create a culture that shifts from the masculine object based or a neural sexed affinity towards art to a more sexuate, sublime, ethically representable and ecologically responsible public art scapes.

Public spaces and the ethic of care

Approaching the urban public space through an ethic of care is significant because care ethics in their basic and thoroughly advancing frameworks employ a combination of feminist and ecological ethico-politics. Ethics of care is specifically helpful to study women's perception and experience of public spaces because while problems with limited time, money, mobility, accessibility, opportunities, and services pose constraints to women's use of public spaces, the problem are also closely related to the ethic of care being limited to private spheres and exclusive to femininity. "the ethics of care" was developed as a moral theory signifying the fundamental elements of relationships and dependencies in human life (Fieser & Dowden, n.d.). Care ethics, in their basic form, promote valuing human connectedness as a virtue where "care"

involves maintaining the world of and meeting the needs of, our self and others. In their basic framework, care ethics seek to adopt a contextual approach in contrast to the abstract and generalizing approach in justice ethics, thereby promoting the well-being of caregivers and care-receivers in social relationships. Providing a political model of 'care' in the public sphere was Joan Tronto's ' Moral boundaries: A political argument for an ethic of care' (Tronto, 1993). In this work of care ethics, Tronto defines care in a robust political framework as:

(1) attentiveness, a tendency to become aware of need;
(2) responsibility, a willingness to respond and take care of need;
(3) competence, the skill of providing good and successful care; and
(4) responsiveness, consideration of the position of others as they see it and recognition of the potential for abuse in care (Tronto, 1993, p.126-136).
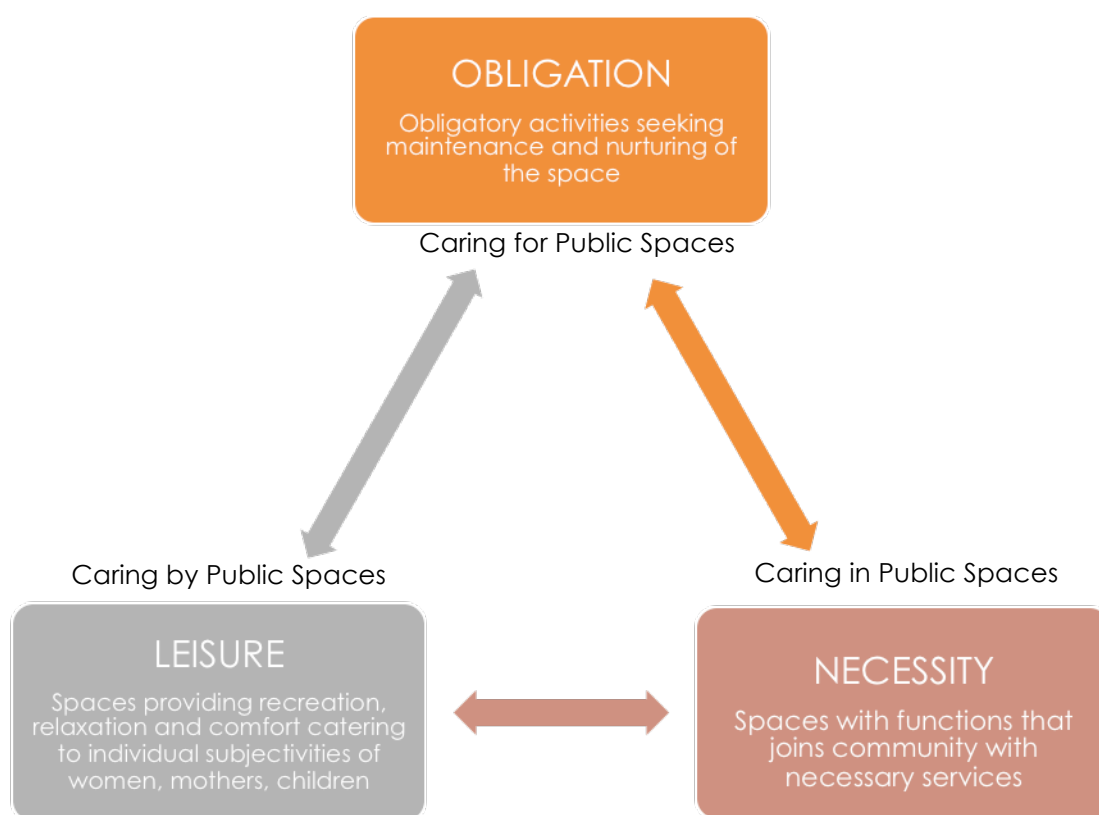
Figure 1 Aspects of a public space generated according to Tronto's ethic of care

Tronto's care ethics would politically imply public spaces to demonstrate obligation of caring for the public space, places providing all the services required by women and creating an environment that provides subjective recreation and leisure opportunities. Public spaces with politically employed care ethic will also mean that these spaces perform as a social ground to empower women through voicing their political freedoms and exercising their social rights through active engagement through community participation.

In this context, an enlightening study was Kristen Day's research on 'Ethics of care and women's experience of public space' (Day, 2000). Day's study of women's experiences in public spaces in the light of the ethic of care theory suggested that

caring acted as a constraint as well as offering possibilities for women to experience public spaces. The study established four key aspects of the care ethics that restricted women's use of public space. While constrained emotions and constraining responsibilities to exhibit qualities like caring for children, household work, caring selflessly for others, not indulging too much in social interactions that are culturally ingrained in many western as well as eastern societies, constrained resources, and social norms exhibit policies on a higher political level.

Day's research, that included perspectives from esteemed gender studies and planning also suggested that ethics of care can create possibilities for the betterment of women's experience in public spaces. An ethic of care extended to the public spaces would mean that the divide between private and public lives of women can decline and help women claim their right towards their 'citizenship'. The ethic of care perspectives of initial ethicists like Carol Gilligan, Nel Noddings, and Sara Ruddick, suggest caring more as an activity for immediate recipients and caregivers with the contextual relationship, which would mean encouraging community-based activities and local community engagement spaces. Joan Tronto's ethical model on similar lines seeks more political impact, which would mean public spaces as active centers of employing caring responsibilities, attentiveness to various needs of women, children and competence to satisfy those needs and responsiveness of the community.
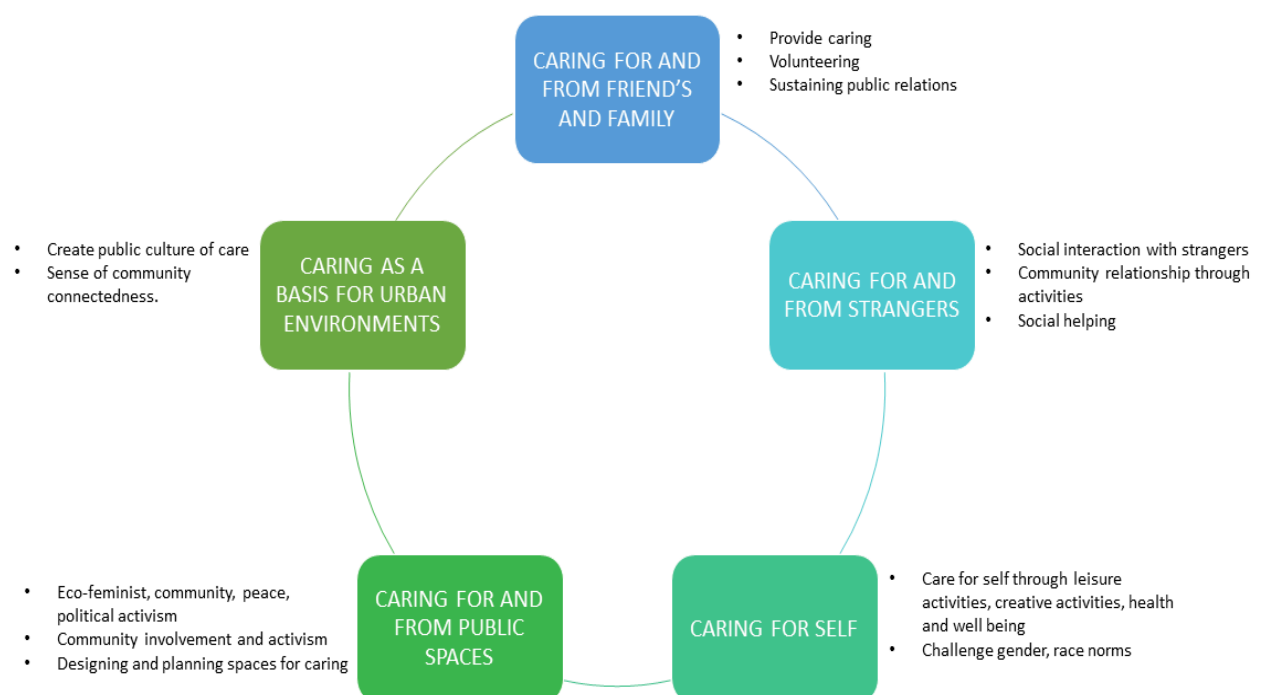
Figure 3: Illustration of Kristen Day's possibilities for experiencing and exercising care through women's use of public space (Day, 2000)

Conclusions and Implications for Holistic Sustainability

The above discussion of the ethics of sexuate difference and the ethic of care leads us to positive insights on how an eco-feminist ethical framework can imply social and ecological sustainability in public spaces. These ethics imply on a different way of placemaking for open public spaces that aim for pro-active caring as a basic value in

public spaces. Caring is mostly exclusive to private spheres and thus 'caring' as a central value in public outdoor and open public spaces can integrate better community values of hospitality and a culture of love. This can be exercised by shifting our focus making public less resource consumptive to be places that will need community attention. Public space restoration projects like Agnes Denes 'Wheatfield' in the Battery Park landfill in New York, emit a blend of such feminist and biopolitical nature of care in public urban spaces. The Wheatfield acted as a political statement by being an artwork that evokes the stark contrast of the background of capitalistic trade (the world trade center) and the foreground of a cared ecological landscape of wheat. The Wheatfield also created a space that nurtures and requires nurturing from the occupants and users. Agnes Denes 'Wheatfield' is extensively discussed as feminist and architectural ecologies of care having philosophical overlaps with ecological urbanism (Rawes, 1993). Small scale interventions like the Ecobox in Paris (Pourias, Aubry, & Duchemin, 2016) or the community gardens in Manhattan, conspired by the Green Guerillas in 1973 (Smith & Kurtz, 2003), exhibited that urban interventions on the community local level can go a long way in the ecological well-being of the city. Activities like urban farming, educational learning spaces, community garden, community kitchens, animal caring spaces, and ecological art can drastically improve public engagement with the space and evoke a sense of responsibility and belongingness for the space.

The concept of dwelling in the public space evolves through this ethical discussion that counters the duality of the indoor-outdoor, public-private and the city-ecology binaries. Urban nature connection programs that focus on place based learning and encourage a deep nature connection can (Grimwood, 2016). An eco-feminist theoretical base is also necessary to introspect the ideas of leisure in public spaces. As eco-feminist studies have pointed out, the general mechanistic worldview has regarded nature as the material, biophysical world that is controllable, available and consumable for human cultural leisure (Encyclopedia, 2016; Gaard, 1996; Grimwood, 2016; Haraway & others, 1991; Humberstone, 1998; Irigaray, 2008). This view is essentially a masculine construct of leisure which highlight the hierarchical dualities of culture being exclusive domain of men and nature being a subordinate passive entity that needs to be domesticated as women. Apparent in many typologies of malls, commercial markets, public plazas, market squares are this hierarchies of culture over nature and thus also human over ecological, making environmental well-being difficult.
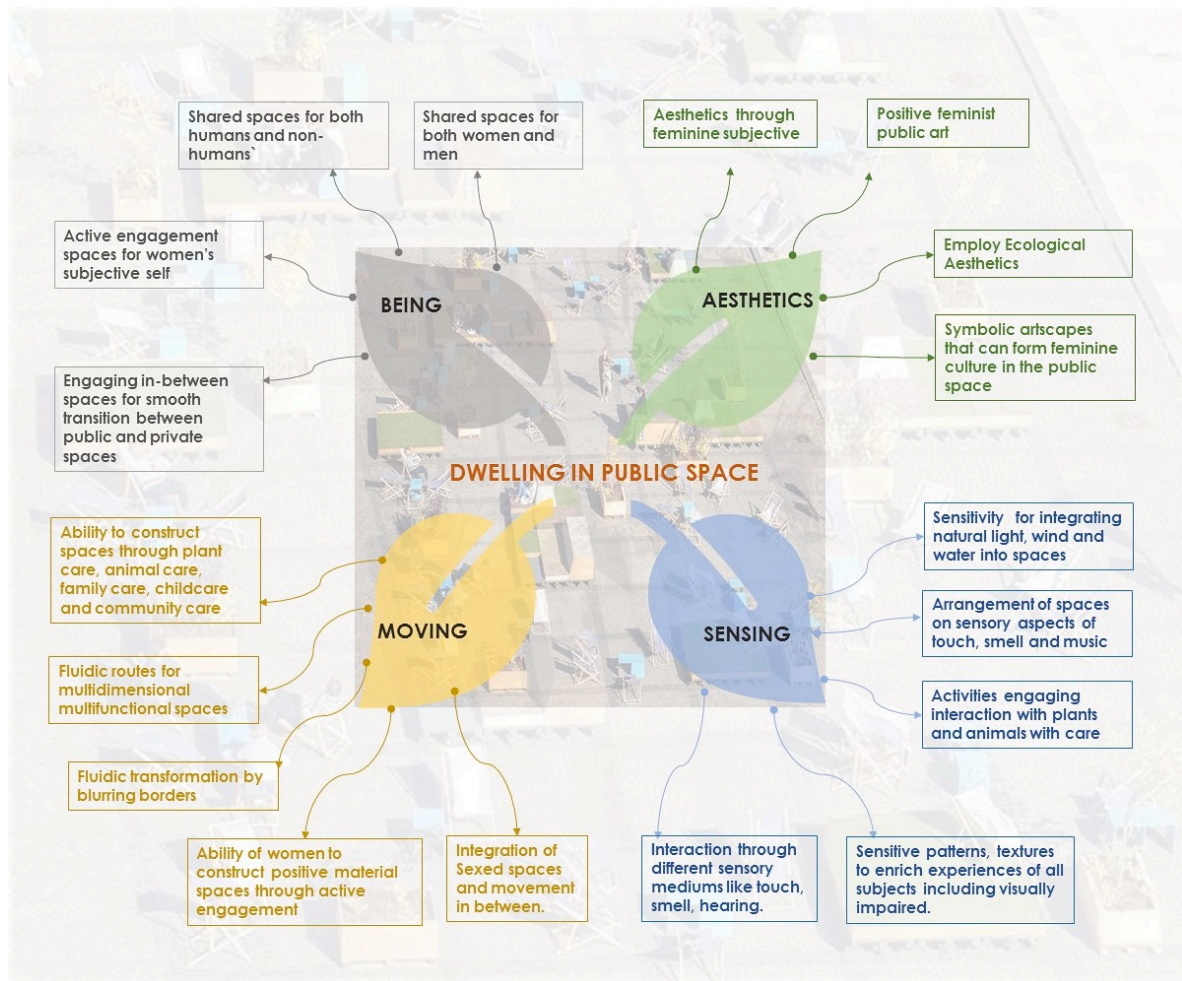
Figure 4: Thinking about dwelling in public space through care

The above figure illustrates the general implications of the ethical framework of sexuate difference and care affecting the aspects that can help dwell in public space. The ethic of sexuate difference and care challenges the hierarchical model of androcentric as well as anthropocentric domination and informs us to imagine public spaces that has an equitable balance of human- non-human and nature relationships through caring and a shared culture of love. Conclusions of qualitative studies such as Bryan Grimwood's 'Ecofeminist Narrative of Urban Nature Connection' (Grimwood, 2016) that present the experiences of women and nature based experiences in public spaces show that re-establishing public spaces with a proactive model of human nature project through learning, education and engagement not only incorporates nature-based experiences, meanings skills more deeply within urban lives but also stimulate political possibilities, nurturing and caring actions creating a more equitable urban culture and thus a more holistic model for urban sustainability.

In conclusion, an ethical inquiry into the philosophy of sexuate difference and the ethic of care lays the philosophical framework for a unique way of designing architecture, spaces and establishing their relationship with human and non-human subjects. Aspects of relationship with oneself and the other, being, sensing, moving, perceiving beauty and addressing the sexual difference, as discussed in the above demand to shift our existing paradigms of analyzing, designing and creating public spaces. The definition for urban public placemaking then inevitably starts to evolve as

a new one, as the spatial environment and its relationship to the subjects that dwell in it, adopt a language of care thus presenting a holistic perspective for achieving socio-ecological sustainability. The future of this eco-feminist perspective is developing its practical implications on urban space, public policy and implementations through innovative design interventions, thus aiming for a culture of care, co-inhabitance and wellbeing, all together.

Acknowledgements

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How a Neighborhood Changes From Summer Resort to Conservative Quarter: The Case of Florya, Istanbul

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Abstract

Florya one of the oldest summer resorts in Istanbul competing with its neighbors in growing since 1950s. With the changes in its dwellers, the neighborhood started to change incrementally in the past years. In 1950's it has been one of the most modern and beautiful summer resort in the city. From 90's to present Florya wriggle itself out of being a summer resort and with the undeniable effect of the new service areas, it has started to house rich people's family mansions and then it has become the focus of the rich conservatives. This article tries to demonstrate the changes in housing typology of Florya from the beginning to the present day in four periods regarding the social change. First period focuses on summer resorts that can mainly discriminated with their open space usage. Second period has started after the airport and fairground came into service. The houses started to domicile for full time family residents so that housing program and spatial organization has changed. Third period has leaped forward with a legal loophole during the local elections in 2004. The buildings of this period are very luxurious and higher than they can be. Last period is for the houses that very luxurious again but not high as previous ones. These houses are very introverted because of their very conservative residents. This research in this manner tries to seek out the changing typology of the local housing in Florya according to change of the owners.

Keywords: social change, housing typology, Florya, conservative housing, summer houses

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Introduction

Istanbul, the capital city of Turkey, has been one of the biggest metropoles with its dynamic social, geographical and geopolitical conditions since the beginning. This results in rapid change of both physical and social environments in the city. The society it houses had undeniable effects on its physical conditions.

Social change occurs in all societies and it can be said that no society remains completely static. According to Mazumdar (1996), social change may be defined as a new fashion or mode, either modifying or replacing the old, in the life of a people, or in the operation of a society. Merrill and Eldredge (1952) define social change as large number of people are engaging in activities that differ from they or their forefathers engaged in before.

Architecture here is one of the most simple and easy way of tracking the social change. Erskine (1982) states that architecture is a vital influence in people's lives and a major expression of their culture. As a result, the architectural typologies and built environments have changing incrementally along with the society in a city. It can be read easily from residential, commercial or/and any other buildings that relates with the society in a direct or indirect way.

Social change rate is very high in Istanbul's almost every part. Architectural typologies' transformation is an easy way to track this change. This study aims to provide a comparative analysis of the social change and the housing typologies in the case of Florya neighborhood in four periods. Observational, archival and visual comparative research methods have been used.

Case Area: Florya

Bakirkoy is one of the 39 districts in the city of Istanbul and it has 7 neighborhoods that are Atakoy, Cevizlik, Florya, Kartaltepe, Yesilkoy, Zeytinlik and Zuhuratbaba. Bakirkoy involves Istanbul Ataturk Airport and CNR Expo Center in Yesilkoy Neighborhood.

Florya is a neighborhood locating in the Bakirkoy district within the suburban part of Istanbul (Figure 1). It is also adjacent to the Istanbul Ataturk Airport from the northeast and Marmara Sea from the Southwest.

Figure 1: Location and Landmarks of Florya Neighborhood

This district was founded by Konstantin in AD384 as an entertainment area and summer resort. In the 1900s, many ethnic groups were living in the district. There were only 92 people. Ataturk, the founder of Turkish Republic has decided to have a summer residence, public beaches, hotels and related facilities there in his first visit. This construction of the Presidential Marine House marked a turning point in Florya's history as a resort (Akcura, 1999). Neighborhood Florya is well known with its beaches (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Florya Beaches and Ataturk House in 1939 and in 1970

After 1950's, modern summer houses started to take place and the beach called Gunes (Summer) has become one of the most famous beach in the city. In 1980s, the neighborhood started to elude the summer resort identity and gained full time residents. The owners use these summer houses year round. The two main reasons of this change are increasing the capacity of the airport and opening the expo center. The neighborhood dwells mostly nabobs over multiplied its population in years.

Nowadays the population is around 30 thousand. The previous ethnic overlaps cannot be seen and population is mostly consists of Turkish people. The neighborhood now, strings along with metropolis life of Istanbul with high construction rates, malls and decreasing green areas. This paper explores the shifting social and architectural transformation of one of Istanbul's most memorable summer resorts: Florya.

Housing Periods

The neighborhood Florya has mostly residential buildings. The houses here are preferred by the owners who are looking for a calm and green place to live in. In this part, the houses of Florya is divided into four periods according to their owners and collective characteristic features.

Period 1

Florya that started as a summer resort had a peaceful atmosphere for vacationers. As a result of this, the summer houses here generate the first period. Nowadays these houses dwell mostly locals of Florya.

The houses of this period can be recognized by their open spaces. They have wide open spaces such as balconies, terraces and gardens. Outdoor usage is clearly apparent. Owners decorate and utilize these spaces and spend time in. They mostly have beautiful garden gates and roses in their gardens. They have wide range of vegetation and the entrances are mostly well-planted. The balconies are very fancy, and well decorated. These houses also reflect their summer based identity with their mostly white but always bright outdoor paintings Figure 3&4).

Figure 3: Germeyan 3, Mahirler 3

Being very close to the airport and airport traffic area brings regulations in Florya neighborhood. One that affects is the heights limit's being 7,5m. Because of this, the houses in Florya in this period usually have two stories over ground and a rooftop.
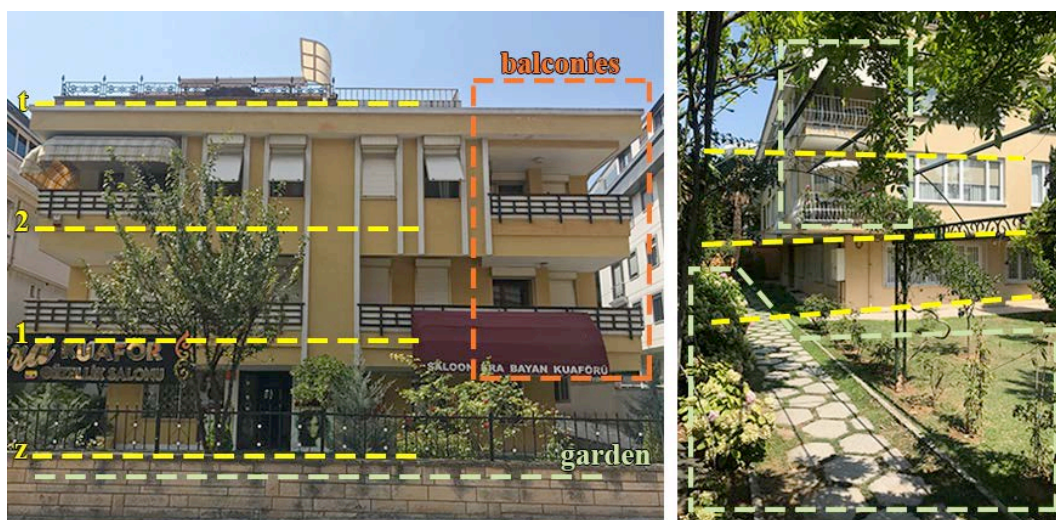
Figure 4: Period 1 Housing Examples - Germeyan 13, Mahirler 5

Period 2

Daily life usage has increased with the high economic and constructional developments around the district. Second Period starts after the daily life began in Florya in 1980s. These Second Period houses are not for summer vacationers. The owners work or related in a way around this neighborhood as an airport or expo staff started to stay in these houses all the year round.

Figure 5: Period 2 Housing Examples - Kir Serdar 51, Kir Serdar 21, Eceler 7-9

Open space notion has changed according to the user needs. Balconies got smaller and gardens started to tighten and hidden back to the building. Open space usage remains but decreases do to daily life practices like working or studying. The houses of this period have a very specific and recognizable building mass. The corners of these houses are mostly polygonal, the facade is white, and shutters are uniform (Figure 5).

Period 3

This period starts peremptorily in 2004, before and during the local elections. Through this period, constructors found a legal gap and took the advantage of it.

Height limit of the airport traffic area is not implemented. As a consequence of that, the houses constructed during this period are distinguished by their height. They had up to seven storey. They mostly have two storey below, three storey above ground and two overlapping rooftops that results in almost 20 meters high in total. These buildings exceed the limit more than 12 meters (Figure 6&7).

Figure 6: Period 3 Housing Examples – Ulkem 1, Ciftlik 12

The owners of these houses have close relationships with the government that known as conservative. This worldview reflected to the buildings they live and outdoor spaces waned accordingly. Interior usage became more important and luxurious. These buildings do not have open spaces like the previous ones. Their balconies are very small or closed. They have terraces on the high levels that cannot be seen from the street level and cannot see the street likewise.

The lot coverage rates do not applied and that because the gardens do not exist in this period. The entrances have short bridges and vegetation only appear around the entrance area or in the building as a decoration element.

Figure 7: Period 3 Housing Examples – Harman 32, Harman 14

The luxurious life style appears in many parts of these buildings. They have high-tech infrastructure and security precautions. They all have inside parking area. Besides, the facade is designed with futuristic materials and bright colors that can take attention easily but not allow outsiders to see the interior.

Period 4

Last period is the current situation. As is known, all the human societies and organizations go through certain cycles. The houses of this period contain flashbacks to the first houses of Florya neighborhood. Main reason of this flashback is the constraining the height limits same as before. They started to have two storey above ground and a rooftop. Some have wide gardens but not to luxuriate in (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Period 4 Housing Examples - Germeyan 12, Germeyan 5, Adakale 19

The other open spaces like balconies and terraces cannot be seen from the outside like the previous period houses. As it can be understood from it, the conservative life style is still prevalent in Florya and the indoor living areas are more important than the open spaces. The balconies are mostly closed or as winter gardens with laminated glass.

These introverted houses have very luxurious facilities. They usually have better versions of technological infrastructure in the third period houses. Likely, they are equipped with smart security systems.

These houses do not have vegetation except the entrance. They have futuristic facades and parking area in a similar manner. As a building mass, these houses are very horizontal.

Conclusion

Florya was a very famous summer resort for locals of İstanbul. With the demographic changes houses started to become more introverted in years. The conservative life style they have reflected into their housings. People do not want to be seen so that they do not spend time outside. The materials, the building masses and indoor/outdoor usage has changed accordingly. Therefore, the open spaces are not a part of their daily life anymore but the richness they have is reflected in their houses. On the other hand, some houses of Florya remains still. The owners, if they are local ones, still use the outdoor spaces in their daily life.

Social change in Florya Neighborhood can be read through the housing typologies. Nevertheless, since history repeats itself, societies after passing through all these stages, returns to the original stage, whence the cycle again begins. Social change may be defined as modification in people's ways of doing. To put this statements forward this paper presented the results of social change undertaken in Florya's housing typologies and states the architectural features of these houses.

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Depth Perception and Visual Manipulation of Japanese Gardens

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Abstract

The primary interest of this research is to introduce the principle of visual perception of depth and how the principles are implemented and applied into Japanese garden design. Physical and psychological proximity to nature is essential for Japanese gardens. Consequently, many Japanese gardens are located near or surrounded by natural environment, however some of the gardens are not located in such desired environment. For this reason, some gardens are carefully designed as if to be in the natural environment by manipulating visual perception. In particular, visual perception of depth is essential factor to generate visual manipulation of a space. Generally the depth is perceived by variety of cues including relative size, order, texture gradients, color, lighting and shading, aerial perspective, and linear perspective. In addition to these, the principles of Chinese perception of depth called "Three Distance" theory, and "Floating Perspective" by Chinese landscape painters, Guo Xi, and "Six Distance" theory by Han Cho are regarded as important principles of depth perception in Japan. Such principles are carefully examined and intelligently adopted to Japanese garden design. In this paper, principles of visual perception of depth from the Six Dynasties to the Northern Song Dynasty in China are briefly described and explain how the principles are effectively implemented into the actual space and the unique landscape by introducing variety of Japanese gardens.

Keywords: depth, perspective, Japanese garden

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Introduction

The purposes of the study is to introduce the principle of visual perception of depth and how the principles are implemented and applied into Japanese garden design. First, Chinese perspective in landscape ink painting from the Six Dynasties to the Northern Song Dynasty is introduced to explain the principle of visual perception of depth. Next, the influence of Chinese perspective theory through Japanese painters and gardeners is discussed. Lastly, well known Japanese gardens are introduced as a case study, and explain how the principles are applied and implemented into Japanese garden design.

Chinese history of perspective in Art from Six Dynasties to Northern Song Dynasty

In general, the perspective in art is discovered during the Six Dynasty (ca.222-589) in China. Gu Kaizhi（317-420), one of the most famous painters in Chinese art history, is known as using perspective in his representative work, called "Nymph of the Luo River". Unfortunately, his original drawing is not survived today, but some copies are preserved. The basic principles of perspective are found from the copy of the painting, such as overlapping figures, foreshortening figures, and oblique lines (Figure 2).

During the Northern Song Dynasties (960-1127), the perspective drawing techniques are highly developed and sophisticated by some landscape ink painters. Among all, Song Di, Guo Xi, and Han Cho are well known artists and the strongly influenced to the scenography of Japanese landscape ink paintings.
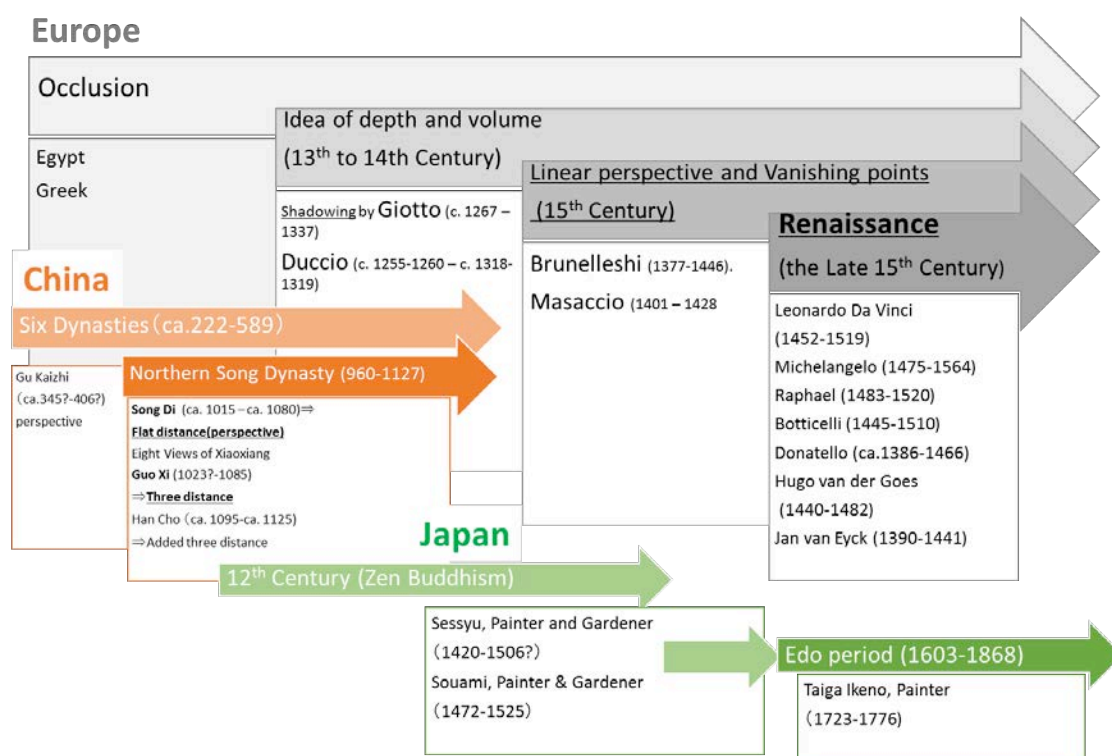

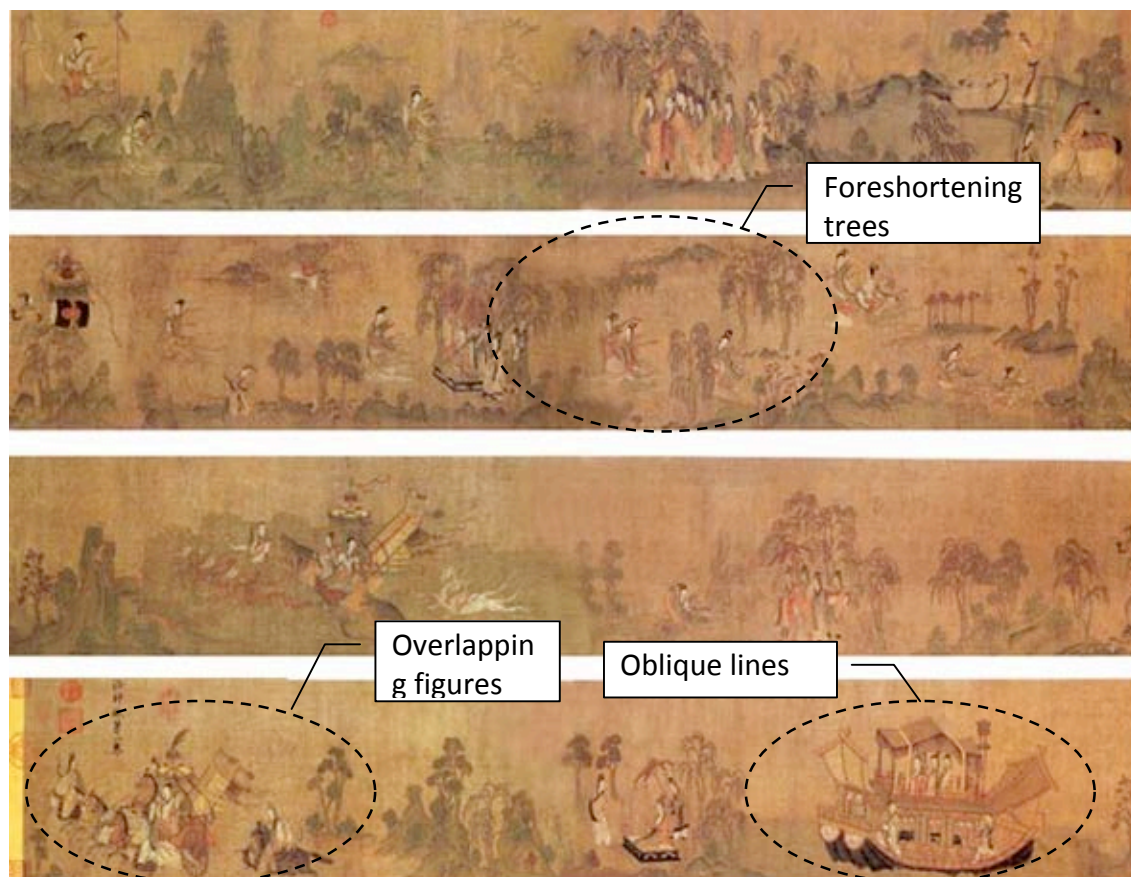Figure 1: Chinese and Japanese history of perspective in Art

Figure 2: Copy of Nymph of the Luo River attributed to Gu Kaizhi modified by
author
Retrieved from National Palace Museum, Taipei (Kaizhi, 317-420)

The first painter is Song Di (ca. 1015 – ca. 1080). Apparently, the most famous
painting of his works is "*Eight Views of Xiaoxiang*". He drew the eight most
outstanding views of Xiao and Xiang river area in Hunan Province. The followings
are the description of selected eight views.

1. The rain at night on the Xiaoxiang in the south
2. The wild geese coming home in Yongzhou
3. The evening gong at Qingliang Temple in Hengyang
4. The temple in the mountain in Xiangtan
5. The snow in the evening on the Xiang River in Changsha
6. The fishing village in the evening glow in Taoyuan County
7. The moon in autumn on Dongting Lake
8. The sailing ship returning home in Xiangyin, in the north

One of the interesting techniques of "*Eight Views of Xiaoxiang*" is that the difference
sceneries are drawn all together on a handscroll. In reality, the eight views are not
observed from a certain fixed view point. In addition to eight views, different time
and seasons are drawn in a painting. The similar drawing technique is often seen
from paintings which represent the narration of a story or history. The sequential
sceneries such as the story of the bible on stained glass windows in a church are
exhibited the characteristics of the technique. Additionally, "*Eight views of*

Xiaoxiang" is completed as a panoramic view as a whole, even though the different views, time, seasons are represented. One of the reasons that the painting is perceived as a naturalistic scene is the degree of viewing angle. The painting is drawn as if the landscape is observed from a certain point. This may result that the "*Eight view of Xiaoxiang*" is called "Flat Distance" painting. Figure 3 is most likely to be the oldest Xiao-xiang painting attributed to Li, a Chinese painter flourished 12th century, owned in Japan.

Figure 3: Right part of Imaginary tour through Xiao-xiang by Li (12th century)
Retrieved from Tokyo National Museum (Li, 12c)

During 11th century, the unique scenography called, Three Distance perspective were established by Guo Xi (flourished 1020-1090). He is one of the most famous landscape painter of the Northern Song period and credited with writing a book on scenography, called "*Linquan Gaozhi*" also called "Lofty Record of Forests and Streams" in English. In his essay, he pointed out three distance perspectives of mountains; High Distance (Vertical distance), Deep Distance (Horizontal distance), and Distance of Flatness (Level distance).

According to "*Linquan Gaozhi*", the drawing techniques mainly consists of four categories; viewing angle, color, force, and figures (Table 1).

Table: Description of Three Distance

	High Distance	Deep Distance	Flat Distance
Viewing angle	Looking up to the top of a mountain from below	Looking toward its back from its front	Looking at distant mountains from near mountain
Color	Clear and bright	Thick and dark	Sometimes bright, sometimes dark
Force	Pushing up	Thick and folded	Mildness in grandeur like ocean
Figures(human)	Bright and clear	Small like fragments of stones	Ocean waves

"Early Spring (1072)" is the representative work of Guo Xi. According to Shindo (1989, p. 239), the Three Distance is expressed in this painting (Figure 4). Comparing with "*Eight view of Xiaoxiang*", "Early Spring (1072)" is drawn from multiple viewpoints. This technique called floating perspective or multiple point perspective. The principle is similar to Cubism created by Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque in the early 20th century. Cubism is the rejection of adapting the traditional techniques of perspective and the use of multiple vantage points. Similarly, Chinese perspective technique is also used multiple vantage points. However the distinctive difference of Chinese landscape ink painting is not only imitated nature but also kept a holistically harmonious scenery with the pleasant association of dimensions.

In the early 12th century, three different perspective types are added by Han Cho. He wrote the "*Shan-shui Ch'un-ch'uan chi*" and described new dimensions called Six Distance of Chinese landscape ink painting. The added three perspective types is as follows:

1. Broad distance: generally a wide stretch of water with a shore in the foreground and a spacious sweep to distant mountains
2. Hidden distance: thick mists and fogs that interrupt streams and plains, and cause them to disappear
3. Obscure distance: scenery that becomes obliterated in vagueness and mistiness.

The added three perspective types are caused by atmospheric condition. These are generally called aerial perspective or atmospheric perspective. The atmospheric effect such as haze or fog creates the illusion of depth and is expressed effectively in landscape ink painting.
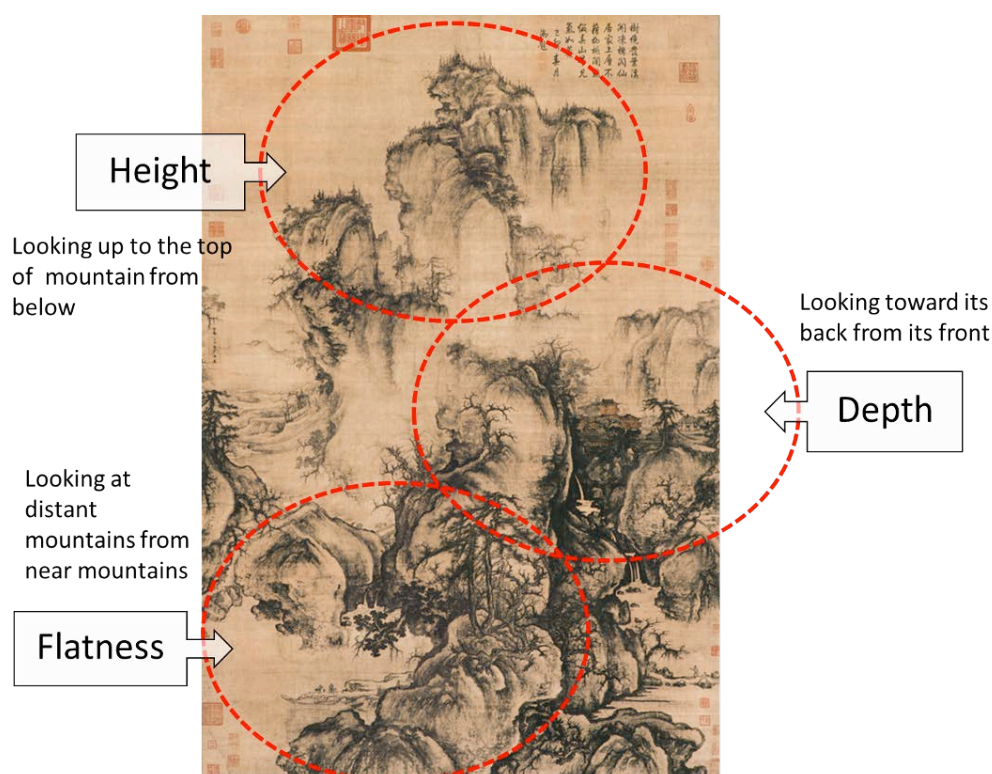

Figure 4: Early Spring (1072) modified by author
Retrieved from National Palace Museum, Taipei (Xi, 1072)

Influence of perspective in Art from China to Japan

"*Eight views of Xiaoxiang*" is drawn by famous Chinese landscape ink painters such as, Muqi Fachang, Hong Wang , Ma Yuan, Yu-jian.   According to "Kundaikansouchouki" (Hayashiya, 1973), some of their paintings are introduced to Japan during the late Kamakura period (1192-1333), and it became one of favorite theme of landscape ink paintings in Japan as well.   Consequently many Japanese painters draw the same subject matter over and over through the early modern times. It seems like that Japanese landscape ink painters are almost obsessed with the particular subject matter for a long time.

Initially, "Xiaoxiang*"* is celebrated an idealistic landscape and peaceful scene through poetry and paintings, and literary similar places of Xiaoxiang are praised scenic beauty in Japan.   Eventually, the concept to select eight views in a certain region or area became popular, frequently regardless of scenery of Xiaoxiang.   Similarly, eight views are often selected from famous gardens to praise the aesthetic.   Therefore, selecting eight views became conventional expression to praise landscape aesthetic beauty in Japan.   Another reason that the particular theme became popular is that the scene of Xiaoxiang is familiar for Japanese people because the geography and climate of Xiaoxiang is probably the most commonly found in Japan   Secondly, the expression of eight view are easily captured the people's attention.   Thirdry, the calmness and simplicity of the subject matter are highly associated with Zen Buddihism.   Zen Buddhism was introduced to Japan during 12th century.   "*Eight views of Xiaoxiang*" was introduced in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) in Japan.   A stillness of mind is also an essential philosophy of Zen Buddhism.   Consequently, the subject matter is accepted with the philosophy of Zen.   As a result, the subject was frequently drawn by Japanese monks of Buddhism, such as Sesshu Toyo (1420-1506), Soami (unknown-1525).

Meanwhile, Three Distance and Six Distance were not expressed in a painting by the Edo period (1603-1867).   Perhaps the theory was literarily introduced such as written document, however the particular model or the reproduction of the painting is not introduced until the Edo period.   In 1679 "*Chieh Tzu Yuan Hua Chuan*", Chinese painting manual, was introduced from 1688 to 1704, and the reproduction called "*Kaishiengade*n" was published since 1748 in Japan.   After the publication of the painting manual, Taiga Ike （1723-76） drawn the painting to explain the concept of the six distance theory visually.   He painted a set of the Six Distance in 1762 named as "Rikuen", which means six distance (figure 5).   After four years later he drew the same theme.   At this point, he selected the Five Great Mountains in China and Xiaoxiang as a flat distance to represent Six Distance theory (Figure 6).   The followings are the selected mountains and Xiaoxiang.

1. High Distance: Mount Heng
2. Deep Distance: Mount Tai
3. Flat Distance: Xiaoxiang
4. Broad distance: Mount Heng
5. Hidden distance: Mount Song
6. Obscure distance: Mount Hua

Figure 5: Rikuen by Taiga Ike (Reizei, 2010)

| High distance | Deep distance | Flat distance: | Broad distance | Hidden distance | Obscure distance |
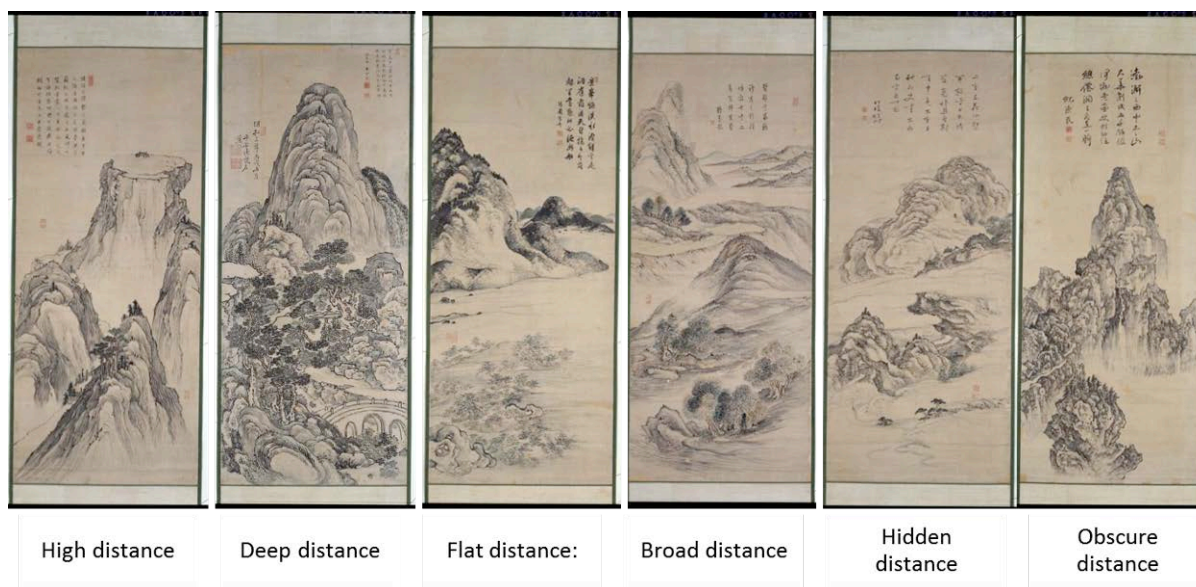
Figure 6: Rikuen sansui zu by Taiga Ike Added text by author
Retrieved from Tokyo National Museum (Ike, 1766)

Developed Japanese perspective in Art and transformed into a garden

Rinzai, one of the major Zen Buddhist sects was transmitted to Japan in 1191 by the priest Eisai. During the Muromachi period (1338–1573), Zen Buddhism became major religion and a landscape ink painting became popular among monks of Buddhism. Landscape ink paintings became more important culturally as well as religiously under the patronage of lords and warriors who are remained influential during the Muromachi period. At the same time, the gardening style were dramatically changed and highly sophisticated in this period. Before the Muromachi period a paradise garden is the dominant garden style and created to pray for peaceful death and rebirth by aristocrats and monks. In contrast, Zen Buddhism garden is very simple because generally created for meditation and practice. Some Zen gardens are consist only stones and sand without water and vegetation, which called "rock garden".

In this section, two outstanding painters also known as gardeners are introduced to explain how the Chinese drawing techniques are incorporated into Japanese garden design. The first painter is Sesshu Toyo   (1420-1506). He is the most prominent Japanese master of ink painting and is a Rinzai Zen Buddhist priest (Figure 7). Sesshu Toyo is also known as a gardener. He designed several temple gardens. Funda-in is the sub temple of Tofuku-ji temple and its garden is designed by Sesshu from 1460 to1468 (Figure 8). The garden is considered one of the oldest garden of dry landscape style.

He studied ink painting from Shubun, who is an artist-monk of Shokoku-ji Temple, in his early age. He tripped to Ming China (1468-69) and strongly influenced by Chinese Song dynasty landscape painting. Obviously, he studied the three distance theory by Guo Xi during his trip, and presumably he could apply the theory to a garden design.

As a painter, he had a special interest to paintings of Ruofen Yu-jian (Japanese: Jakufun Gyokukan), and he imitates Yu-jian's painting style and studied his technique. Ruofen Yujian is one of the popular Chinese painter in Japan. Coincidentally there is a Japanese garden style called "Gyokkan ryu garden", which means garden style by Ruofen Yu-jian. There are three "Gyokkan ryu garden" styles are documented in "*Kokon chado zensho*" (Kosenzan, 1694) (Figure 9). This is the fact that the composition of landscape ink painting are actually became a model of a garden.
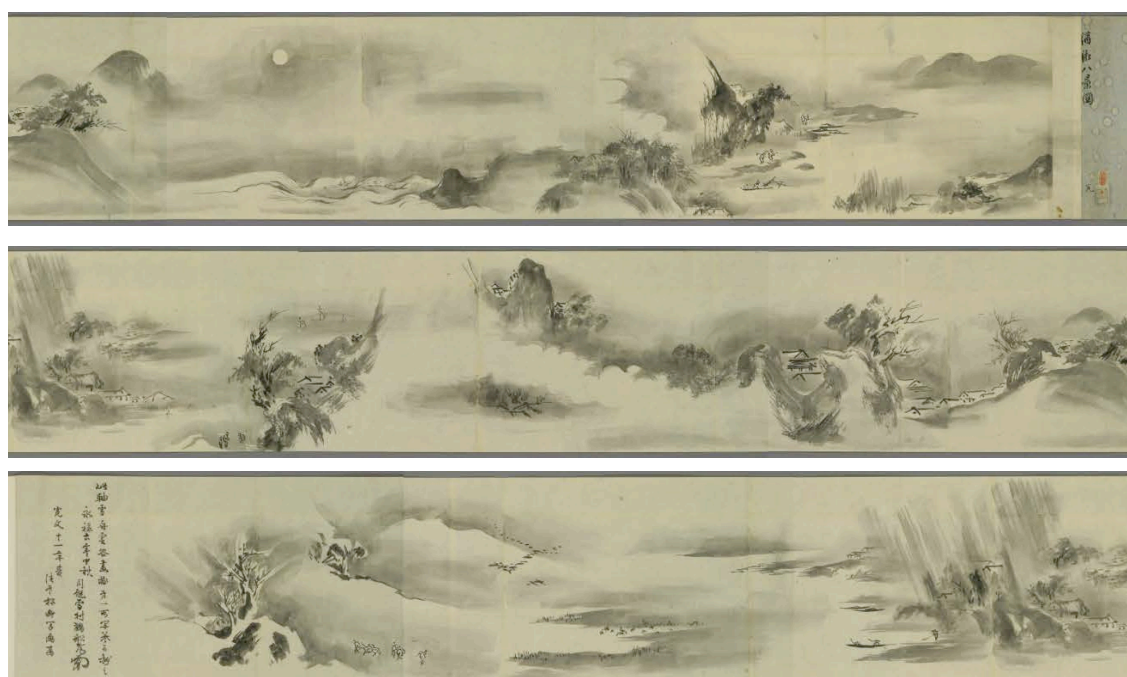
Figure 7: Eight Views of Xiaoxiang by Sesshu,
Retrieved from Waseda University Library (Sesshu)

Figure 8: Funda-in garden (south)
Image retrieved from Kyoto Kanko (Kyotokanko, 1996)

Figure 9: from "*Kokon chado zensho*"
Retrieved from Waseda University Library (Kosenzan, 1694)

The second painter is Soami (1472-1525). He is a painter, poet, and the most celebrated Zen temple gardener. He is also influenced by the philosophy of Zen, the meditative sect of Buddhism. He painted a landscape painting on sliding doors in the Daisen-in, a monastery within the Zen Buddhist Daitoku-ji Temple in Kyoto (Figure 10). He knows all there is to know about art, so he succeeded as a Master of tea ceremony, incense ceremony, and flower arrangement. Therefore, he is specialized in analyzing, interpreting and evaluating art. As a connoisseur, in 1511 he revised Noami's (Soami's grandfather) famous catalog of Chinese paintings, the "*Kundaikan sayu choki*" (compiled in 1476) (Hayashiya, 1973). As a landscape designer, he designed several gardens (Figure 11), and two gardens are the most celebrated Zen

temple gardens in Japan: the Ryoan-ji Temple garden and the Daisen-in garden in Kyoto. In 1735 one of the garden design and technique manual called "*Tsukiyama niwadukuriden*" (Kitamura et al., 1735). This book is considered as Soami's garden design manual. The reason why the garden book was published at a later time is that the most of garden design techniques are regarded to be secret until the Edo period, and only a few people know the existence of written document because usually the technique can be told verbally from masters to disciples. The Three Distance theory by Guo Xi is described in his design manual book. This suggests that the Three Distance theory is adapted to design a garden.

Figure 10: Eight Views of Xiaoxiang by Soami (Japanese: Shosho hakkei zu)
Retrieved from Kyoto National Museum owned by Daisen-in Temple (Soami)
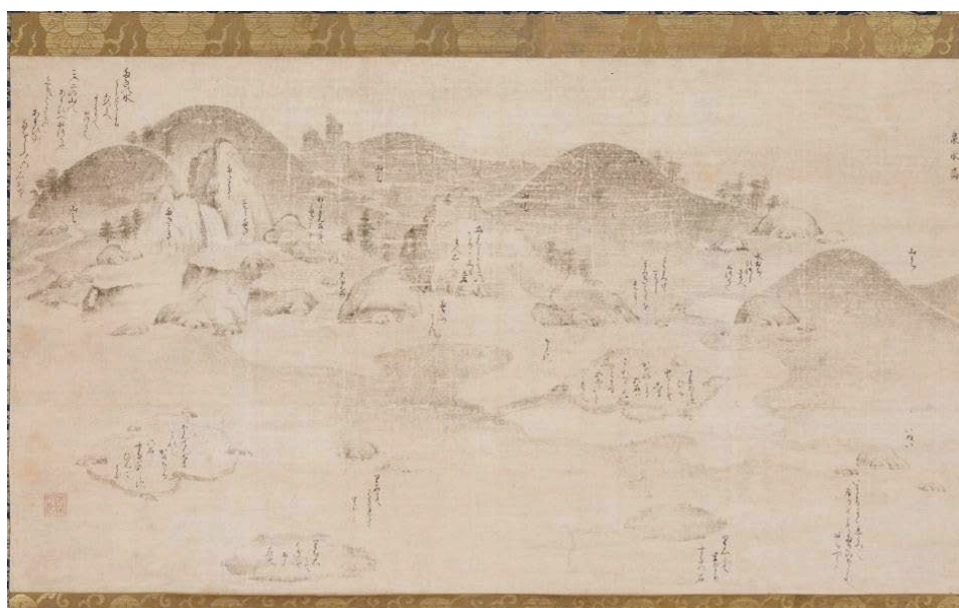
Figure 11: Garden design drawing "*Higashiyama Sensui zu*" contributed to Soami
Retrieved from Tokyo National Museum (Soami, 16c)

Case studies: How the Three Distant theory is transformed into Japanese gardens

In this chapter, the case study is designed to find out the actual implication of Three Distance theory in garden design. The gardens designed by Soami are mainly exemplified and identified how the Three Distance theory is applied into Japanese garden design. In addition to the actual garden, the paintings by Ike Taiga is demonstrated as a reference to substantiate the theory visually (Figure 12). On the other hand, added Three Distance types by Han Cho is eliminated from the case study,

because the aerial perspective highly depends on atmospheric condition and rarely represented in garden design.

Flat Distance   Deep Distance   Height Distance

Figure 12: Six Distance theory represented by Taiga Ike (Reizei, 2010, pp. 56-57)
Image is modified by author

Case study 1: High Distance theory and paintings

According to "*Linquan Gaozhi*", High Distance is described as follows; First, the mountains are drawn by looking up to the top of a mountain from below. Secondly, the color should be clear and bright. Thirdly, the force is pushing up. Lastly, the human figures should be bright and clear. (Murakata(Ed.), 1992, p. 44). The techniques are more likely to suggest how to draw mountains look high rather than how to draw high mountains. Figure 13 shows two paintings by Takga Ike, and there are some common aspects can be found. One is mountains are drawn by overlapping vertically. This vertical alignment enables to express the angle of elevation and vertical force. The vertical depth is enforced, contributing the drawn mountain looks high. Additionally, Guo Xi mentioned "A mountain cannot be tall, if every part of it be shown "(Murakata(Ed.), 1992, p. 45). When you look at Figure 13, you recognized that the bottom of mountains are not defined. This allows to imagine that the mountains are taller than what are seen. Theoretically, the perspective of elevation is defined as followed;

> "When an object is visible relative to the horizon, we tend to perceive objects which are closer to the horizon as being further away from us, and objects which are farther from the horizon as being closer to us."(Carlson, Miller, Heth, Donahoe, & Martin, 2008, p. 187).

Therefore, the mountain looks high and closer to us. Again, multiple vanishing point can be found in the paintings. For example, the mountains are seen from below, but mountain top is shown. Realistically, this does not happen in the real world. However, this phenomenon like an optical illusion is more likely to create a natural view. In other words, there are at least two different angles of view, but it coexist together in a painting. This could be one of the most outstanding characteristics of Chinese and Japanese paintings comparing with European perspective paintings.
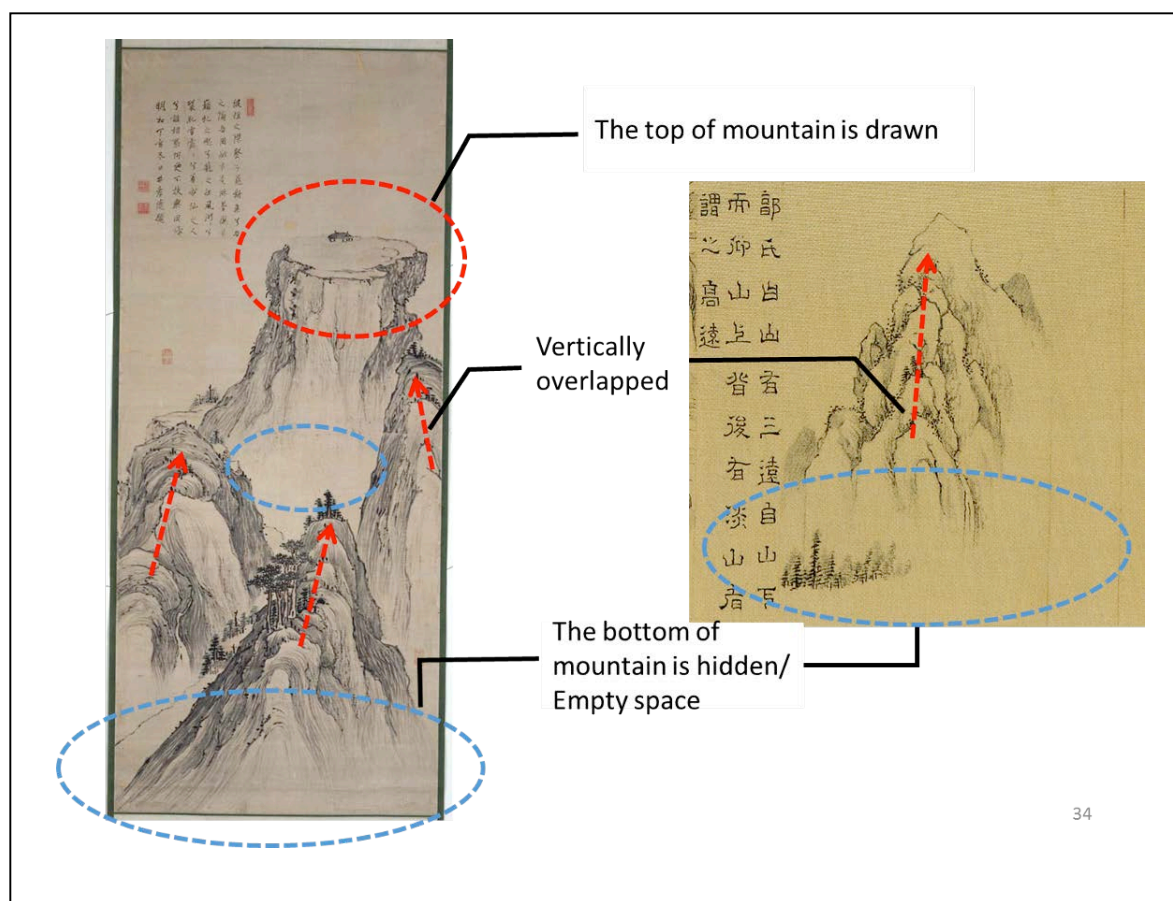
Figure 13: High Distance by Taiga Ike (images are modified by author)

High Distance garden

Unfortunately, there is a few high mountain near gardens in Japan. Consequently, it almost impossible to make such a vertical view for garden in a natural setting. Alternatively, a rock or the cluster of rocks often represents mountains or islands in Japanese gardens. Traditionally, stones are represented landscape of ocean, river, mountain & river, swamp, and even hidden text in a Japanese garden according to the oldest Japanese garden book "*Sakuteiki*" (Hayashiya, 1973). This traditional idea is adaptable to represent a high mountain view. When you look at rock gardens, you can recognize that stones are set vertically and hidden the bottom by sand or moss (Figure 14). Vertical stone arrangements are generally expressed dynamics of nature (Figure 15). Daisen-in, a sub-temple of Daitokuji temple is one of the five most important Zen temples in Kyoto, and the garden is designed by Soami (Honda, 1911), which is one of the best example of representing a high distance view (Figure 16).

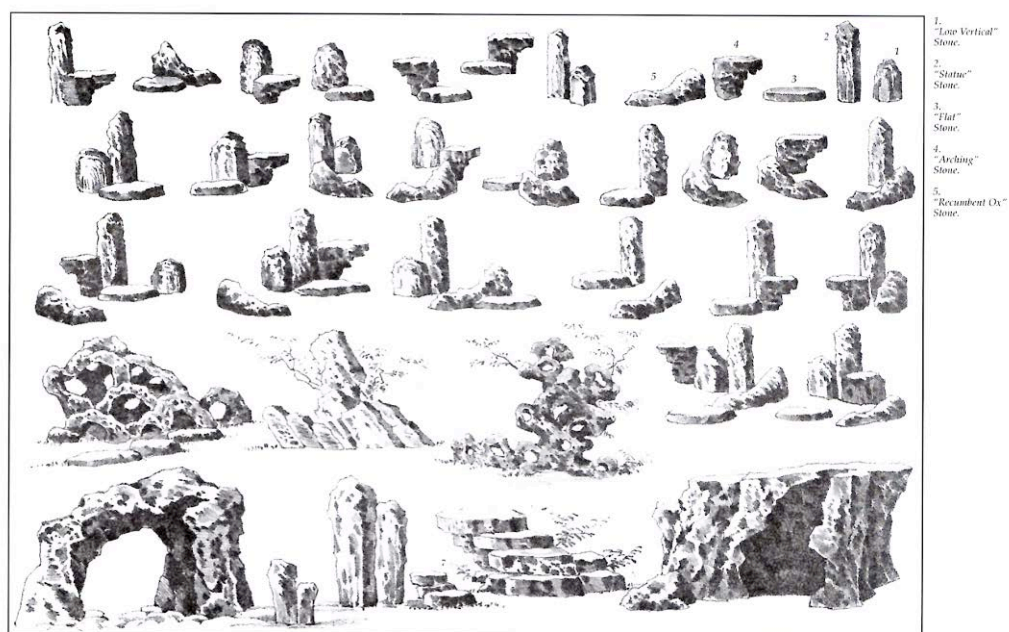Figure 14: Stone arrangement: Hidden the bottom by sand (Left) and moss (Right)

Figure 15: Various stone setting design from Landscape gardening book in Japan
"*Tei zou hou*" (Honda & Conder, 2007, p. 106)

Figure 16 : Daisen-in garden in Tokudai-ji temple
Image retrieved from Kyoto Kanko (Kyotokanko, 1996)

Case study 2: Deep Distance theory and paintings

The drawing technique of Deep Distance is rather unique. It says that "Looking toward its back from its front" (Murakata(Ed.), 1992, p. 44). This technique is how to represent depth of mountains. The description sounds optically impossible in two dimensional representation. However, it is theoretically capable because one of the significances of Chinese painting is not limit to one point of observation. If there are multiple vanishing points in a painting, an object such as a mountain can be seen from different angle.

There are some distinguished representations found from the Deep Distance painting, which are horizontally overlapping mountains, detailed edge, and trajectory of induced eye movement (Figure 17). The horizontally overlapped mountains are classical technique to inform the depth. However, overlapping is the only que to inform the order, the relationship of back and forward between objects. Curved edge can be seen on the painting and drawn in detail. The detailed edge increase the perception of three dimensional volume and lead eye toward a deep and shadowy interior space. A series of curved lines, including a mountain path and water channel subconsciously induce eye movement and functioned as an implied line which refers to the path that the viewer's eye takes as it follows shapes, colors, and forms along any given path. This induced eye movement by a sequence of curved lines enables to psychologically create depth in painting.

Generally parallel line can be confidential information to perceive depth. The property of parallel lines converging in the distance, at infinity, allows us to reconstruct the relative distance of two parts of an object, or of landscape features. However, less straight lines are found in natural environment. Instead of using parallel lines, curved lines are often seen and employed for landscape paintings and garden design elements. As you can see Figure 18, strong curved lines are

intentionally drawn. The C-shaped and S-shaped curve unconsciously lead eyes its back from its front. Above three presentational techniques can induce human eye toward mountain back.
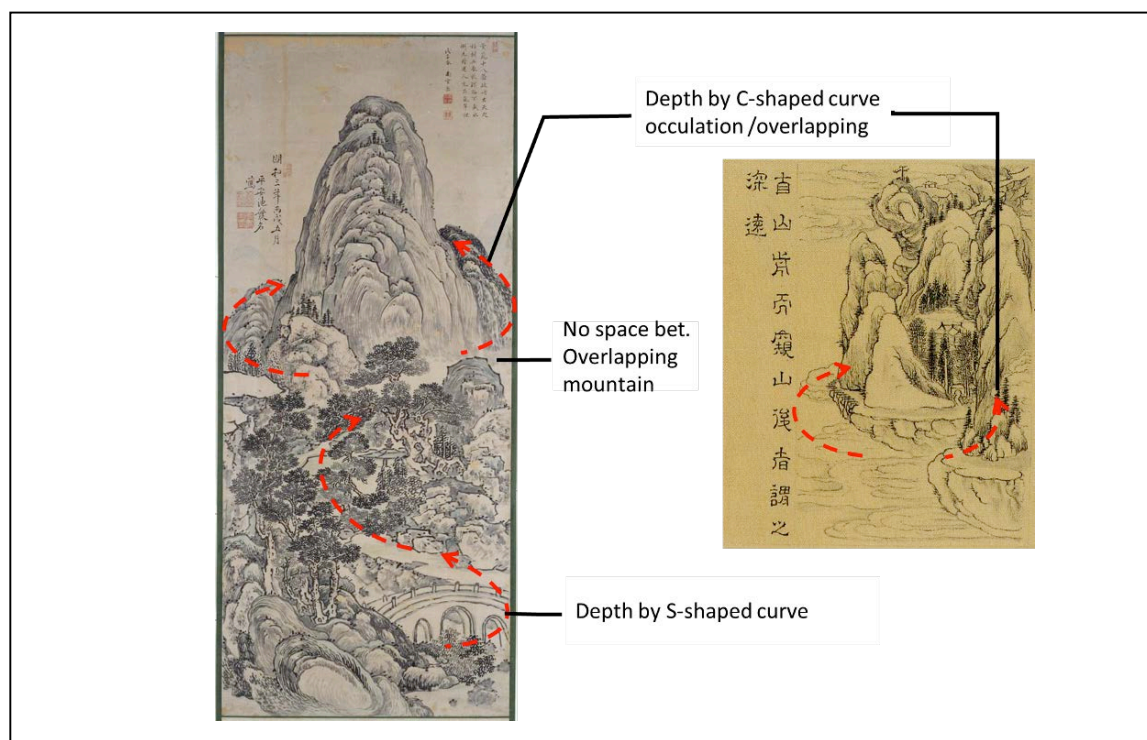

Figure 17: Deep Distance by Taiga Ike (images are modified by author)

Deep Distance garden

In case of painting, the representation of horizontal depth is a key factor to convert three-dimension world into a two dimension medium. In case of garden design, converting different dimension is not required, however a spatial change and rearrangement are required to express beauty of nature in a limited space. Correspondingly, the spatial composition of a garden and the harmonious proportion of garden elements are essential. Smaller gardens are more likely to require larger and deeper presentation to imply a sense of nature. Therefore, forming a mental image through landscape painting is quite useful to transform natural scenery into man-made landscape. Generally, design methodology based on naturalistic images in painting and literature called picturesque is one of the useful approach to makes pictorial view.

Joju-in is in the sub temple of Kiyomizu temple. According to "*Miyako rinsen meisyouzue*" published in 1799, the Joju-in garden was originally designed by Soami (Akisato, 1999, p. p.18). The narrower space in distance and curvilinear garden paths and water channnels are shown on the illustration and plan view of the garden (Figure 18).
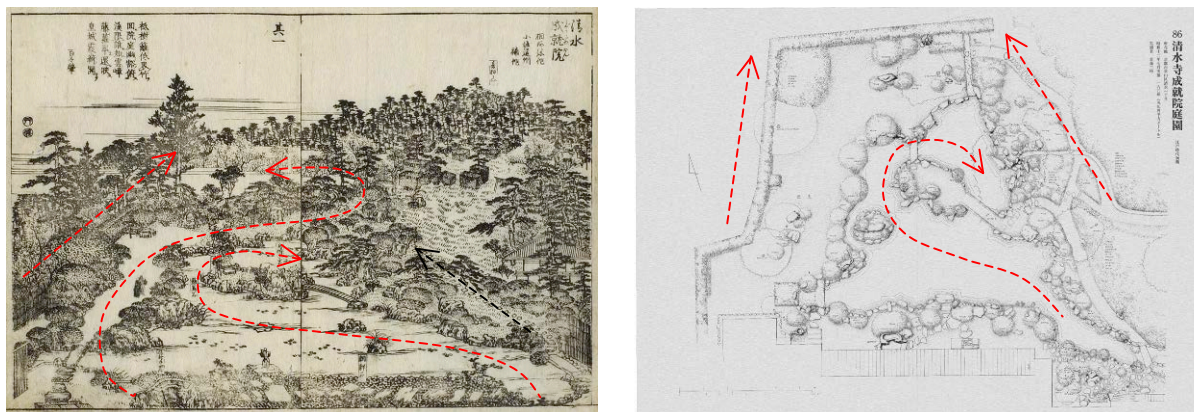
Figure 18: Image and plan view of Jojyu-in garden
Left image retrieved from International Research Center for Japanese Studies
(Akisato, 1799)
Right image retrieved from "*Jissoku zu nihon no meien*" (Shgemori, 1971)

Case study 3: Flat Distance theory and paintings

One of the most favorite subject matter, "*Eight Views of Xiaoxian*" and the landscape ink painting of Flat Distance are mentioned previously. The characteristic of Flat Distance is keeping eye on the same level or more or less looking downward like bird's eye view. This viewing angle generally increased a stable and pleasant sense when a human sees a certain scenery. On the other hand, the manuscript says "Looking at distant mountains from near mountains" (Murakata(Ed.), 1992, p. 44), which recedes into the distance with a sure sense of interval and also indicates there is a spatial gap between observer and viewing object. When you look at the painting by Taiga Ike, very flat surface of water and plain in front and mountains far behind (Figure 19). These types of view can be found in many gardens in Japan and became one of the famous garden style known as "borrowed scenery" or "borrowed landscape". Kyoto city is surrounded mountains, and resulting distant mountains can be seen from some temples, but it is very difficult to afford desired garden view such as a landscape ink painting. Among all, Tenryu-ji temple and Ryoanji-temple are known as borrowed landscape garden and the composition is radically distinctive and without equal.

Flat Distance garden

Tenryu-ji temple is established in 1339 and became the head temple of the Rinzai Zen sect of Buddhism. One of the gardens in Tenryuji-temple is *Hojyo* garden which is designed by a monk as known as a famous garden designer, Muso Soseki (Kokushi). From *Hojyo* (an abbot's chamber or a main hall), which is used for a meditation and practice room, you can see very flat white sands and a pond, and behind of it, the sequence of gradually elevated mounding and Arashiyama Mountain. Geographically Tenryu-ji temple is not adjacent to the Arashiyama mountain, however, the gradual elevation change hides the behind space and generates continuous view from the garden (Figure 20).
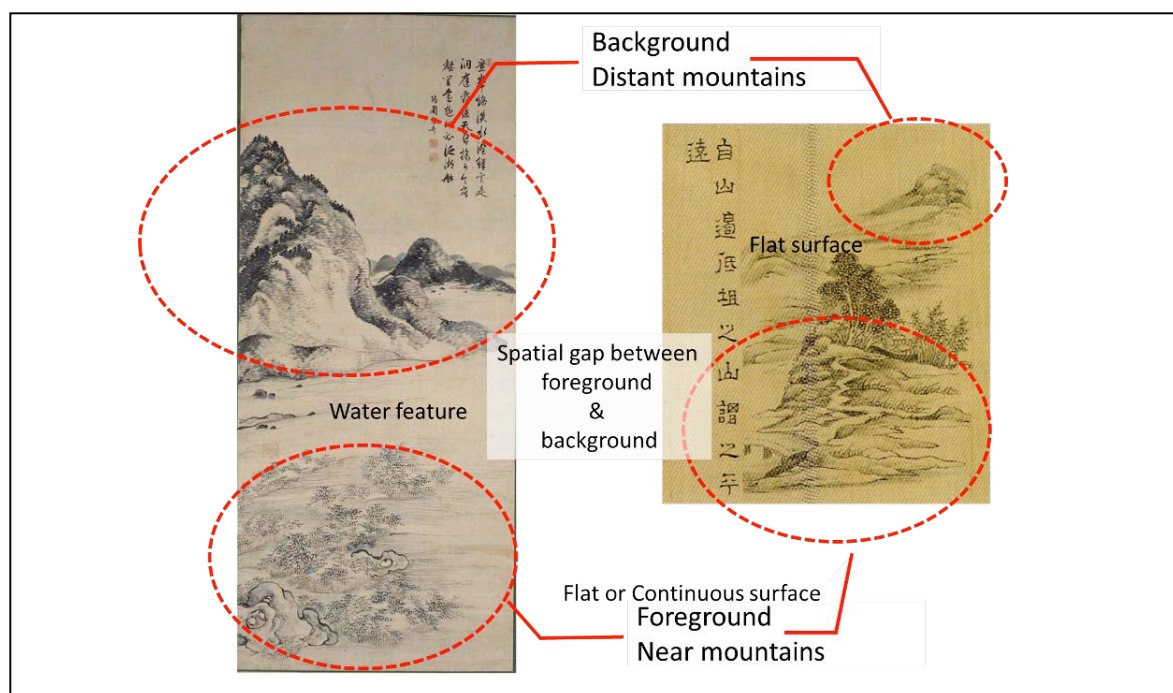
Figure 19: Flat Distance by Taiga Ike (images are modified by author)

Figure 20: Picture (left) and illustration (right) of Tenryu-ji Temple
Right image retrieved from International Research Center for Japanese Studies
(Akisato, 1799)

"Looking at distant mountains from near mountains" (Murakata(Ed.), 1992, p. 44) is traditionally favorable view for Japanese, because Japanese people primarily worship mountains as gods and also traditionally believed that mountains are the places where gods live. Many of the gardens in Kyoto are located near mountains or mountainous areas because of the reasons. Therefore this concept is so familiar that highly adapted in a Japanese garden design.
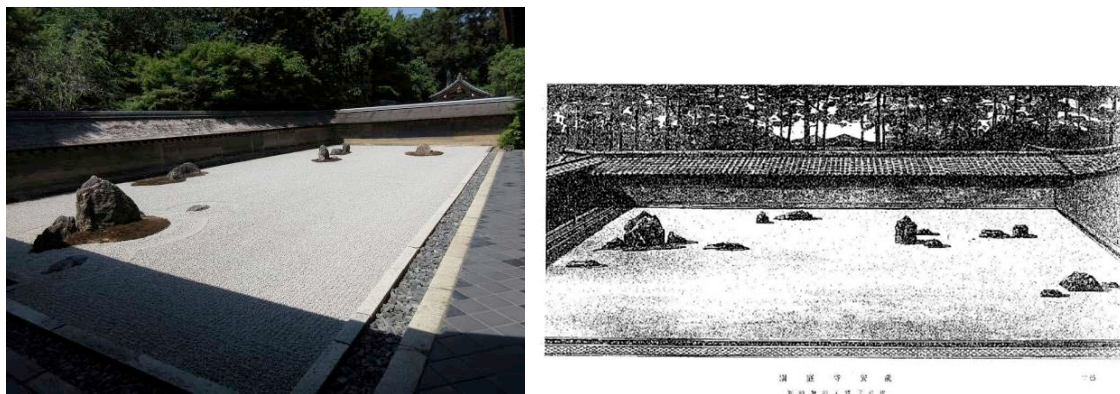
Figure 21: Picture (left) and illustration (right) of Ryoan-ji Temple
Right image retrieved from National Diet Library (Honda, 1911)

Conclusion

Physical and psychological proximity to nature and representation of nature are essential for Japanese gardens. To express the beauty of nature, many gardens are carefully designed as if to be in the natural environment by manipulating visual perception. In particular, visual perception of depth is essential factor to generate visual manipulation of a space. However, the technique is less focused and clearly identified in the previous studies. Therefore, in this research, the principle of visual perception of depth and how the principles are implemented and applied into Japanese garden design are discussed.

In this paper, the Chinese history of perspective in painting from Six Dynasties to Northern Song Dynasty is explained to reveal the visual perception of depth. As a result, the fundamental design techniques of representing depth are identified. Flat Distance of "*Eight Views of Xiaoxiang*" by Song Di is highly accepted as a subject matter for Japanese painters. The scenery of Xiaoxiang is easily familiarized for Japanese people due to the similar geographical and humid climate condition. And also the subject was conceptualized and broadly adapted to Japanese culture. Three Distances theory (High, Deep, and Flat Distance) by Guo Xi is technically accepted and developed for Japanese painters and gardeners, and Six Distance theory (Arial perspective) by Han Cho is identified and influenced to the expression of art works.

Secondly, the influence of perspective in landscape ink paintings into garden design is discussed by introducing Chinese and Japanese painters. Moreover, the developing process of Japanese perspective from landscape ink painting to garden design is explained by introducing two famous painters who studied Chinese ink paintings and became a famous gardener. A distinct possibility that landscape ink painting techniques are applied into garden design is explored. As a result, it reveals that the adapted theory is philosophically developed with Zen Buddhism, and a multitude of facts and documents suggests that the technique and composition of landscape ink painting are influenced to garden design. For example, some paintings and their style actually became a model of a garden.

Lastly, the case study is designed to explore how the Three Distant theory is transformed into Japanese gardens, and it shows that the theoretical techniques are actually applied and designed to manipulate the depth perception in many gardens.

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